NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

No. DCXX.

AUGUST 2, 1907.

CHAPTERS FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY—XXI.*

BY MARK TWAIN.

PREFATORY NOTE.—Mr. Clemens began to write his autobiography many years ago, and he continues to add to it day by day. It was his original intention to permit no publication of his memoirs until after his death; but, after leaving "Pier No. 70," he concluded that a considerable portion might now suitably be given to the public. It is that portion, garnered from the quarter-million of words already written, which will appear in this REVIEW during the present year. No part of the autobiography will be published in book form during the lifetime of the author.—EDITOR N. A. R.

From Susy's Biography of Me.

Feb. 12, '86.

Mamma and I have both been very much troubled of late because papa since he has been publishing Gen. Grant's book has seemed to forget his own books and work entirely, and the other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library he told me that he didn't expect to write but one more book, and then he was ready to give up work altogether, die, or do anything, he said that he had written more than he had ever expected to, and the only book that he had been pertickularly anxious to write was one locked up in the safe down stairs, not yet published.†

But this intended future of course will never do, and although papa usually holds to his own opinions and intents with outsiders, when

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† It isn't yet. Title of it, "Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven."—S. L. C.

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mamma realy desires anything and says that it must be, papa allways gives up his plans (at least so far) and does as she says is right (and she is usually right, if she dissagrees with him at all). It was because he knew his great tendency to being convinced by her, that he published without her knowledge that article in the "Christian Union" concerning the government of children. So judging by the proofs of past years, I think that we will be able to persuade papa to go back to work as before, and not leave off writing with the end of his next story. Mamma says that she sometimes feels, and I do too, that she would rather have papa depend on his writing for a living than to have him think of giving it up.

[*Dictated, November 8, 1906.*] I have a defect of a sort which I think is not common; certainly I hope it isn't: it is rare that I can call before my mind's eye the form and face of either friend or enemy. If I should make a list, now, of persons whom I know in America and abroad—say to the number of even an entire thousand—it is quite unlikely that I could reproduce five of them in my mind's eye. Of my dearest and most intimate friends, I could name eight whom I have seen and talked with four days ago, but when I try to call them before me they are formless shadows. Jean has been absent, this past eight or ten days, in the country, and I wish I could reproduce her in the mirror of my mind, but I can't do it.

It may be that this defect is not constitutional, but a result of lifelong absence of mind and indolent and inadequate observation. Once or twice in my life it has been an embarrassment to me. Twenty years ago, in the days of Susy's Biography of Me, there was a dispute one morning at the breakfast-table about the color of a neighbor's eyes. I was asked for a verdict, but had to confess that if that valued neighbor and old friend had eyes I was not sure that I had ever seen them. It was then mockingly suggested that perhaps I didn't even know the color of the eyes of my own family, and I was required to shut my own at once and testify. I was able to name the color of Mrs. Clemens's eyes, but was not able to even suggest a color for Jean's, or Clara's, or Susy's.

All this talk is suggested by Susy's remark: "The other evening as papa and I were promonading up and down the library." Down to the bottom of my heart I am thankful that I can see *that* picture! And it is not dim, but stands out clear in the unfaded light of twenty-one years ago. In those days

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Susy and I used to "promonade" daily up and down the library, with our arms about each other's waists, and deal in intimate communion concerning affairs of State, or the deep questions of human life, or our small personal affairs.

It was quite natural that I should think I had written myself out when I was only fifty years old, for everybody who has ever written has been smitten with that superstition at about that age. Not even yet have I really written myself out. I have merely stopped writing because dictating is pleasanter work, and because dictating has given me a strong aversion to the pen, and because two hours of talking per day is enough, and because— But I am only damaging my mind with this digging around in it for pretexts where no pretext is needed, and where the simple truth is for this one time better than any invention, in this small emergency. I shall never finish my five or six unfinished books, for the reason that by forty years of slavery to the pen I have earned my freedom. I detest the pen and I wouldn't use it again to sign the death warrant of my dearest enemy.

[*Dictated, March 8, 1906.*] For thirty years, I have received an average of a dozen letters a year from strangers who remember me, or whose fathers remember me as boy and young man. But these letters are almost always disappointing. I have not known these strangers nor their fathers. I have not heard of the names they mention; the reminiscences to which they call attention have had no part in my experience; all of which means that these strangers have been mistaking me for somebody else. But at last I have the refreshment, this morning, of a letter from a man who deals in names that were familiar to me in my boyhood. The writer encloses a newspaper clipping which has been wandering through the press for four or five weeks, and he wants to know if Capt. Tonkray, lately deceased, was (as stated in the clipping) the original of "Huckleberry Finn."

I have replied that "Huckleberry Finn" was Frank F. As this inquirer evidently knew the Hannibal of the forties, he will easily recall Frank. Frank's father was at one time Town Drunkard, an exceedingly well-defined and unofficial office of those days. He succeeded "General" Gaines, and for a time he was sole and only incumbent of the office; but afterward Jimmy Finn proved competency and disputed the place with him,

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so we had two town drunkards at one time—and it made as much trouble in that village as Christendom experienced in the fourteenth century when there were two Popes at the same time.

In "Huckleberry Finn" I have drawn Frank exactly as he was. He was ignorant, unwashed, insufficiently fed; but he had as good a heart as ever any boy had. His liberties were totally unrestricted. He was the only really independent person—boy or man—in the community, and by consequence he was tranquilly and continuously happy, and was envied by all the rest of us. We liked him; we enjoyed his society. And as his society was forbidden us by our parents, the prohibition trebled and quadrupled its value, and therefore we sought and got more of his society than of any other boy's. I heard, four years ago, that he was Justice of the Peace in a remote village in the State of ——, and was a good citizen and was greatly respected.

During Jimmy Finn's term he (Jimmy) was not exclusive; he was not finical; he was not hypercritical; he was largely and handsomely democratic—and slept in the deserted tan-yard with the hogs. My father tried to reform him once, but did not succeed. My father was not a professional reformer. In him the spirit of reform was spasmodic. It only broke out now and then, with considerable intervals between. Once he tried to reform Injun Joe. That also was a failure. It was a failure, and we boys were glad. For Injun Joe, drunk, was interesting and a benefaction to us, but Injun Joe, sober, was a dreary spectacle. We watched my father's experiments upon him with a good deal of anxiety, but it came out all right and we were satisfied. Injun Joe got drunk oftener than before, and became intolerably interesting.

I think that in "Tom Sawyer" I starved Injun Joe to death in the cave. But that may have been to meet the exigencies of romantic literature. I can't remember now whether the real Injun Joe died in the cave or out of it, but I do remember that the news of his death reached me at a most unhappy time—that is to say, just at bedtime on a summer night when a prodigious storm of thunder and lightning accompanied by a deluging rain that turned the streets and lanes into rivers, caused me to repent and resolve to lead a better life. I can remember those awful thunder-bursts and the white glare of the lightning yet, and the wild lashing of the rain against the window-panes. By

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my teachings I perfectly well knew what all that wild riot was for—Satan had come to get Injun Joe. I had no shadow of doubt about it. It was the proper thing when a person like Injun Joe was required in the under world, and I should have thought it strange and unaccountable if Satan had come for him in a less impressive way. With every glare of lightning I shrivelled and shrunk together in mortal terror, and in the interval of black darkness that followed I poured out my lamentings over my lost condition, and my supplications for just one more chance, with an energy and feeling and sincerity quite foreign to my nature.

But in the morning I saw that it was a false alarm and concluded to resume business at the old stand and wait for another reminder.

The axiom says "History repeats itself." A week or two ago Mr. Blank-Blank dined with us. At dinner he mentioned a circumstance which flashed me back over about sixty years and landed me in that little bedroom on that tempestuous night, and brought to my mind how creditable to me was my conduct through the whole night, and how barren it was of moral spot or fleck during that entire period: he said Mr. X was sexton, or something, of the Episcopal church in his town, and had been for many years the competent superintendent of all the church's worldly affairs, and was regarded by the whole congregation as a stay, a blessing, a priceless treasure. But he had a couple of defects—not large defects, but they seemed large when flung against the background of his profoundly religious character: he drank a good deal, and he could outswear a brakeman. A movement arose to persuade him to lay aside these vices, and after consulting with his pal, who occupied the same position as himself in the other Episcopal church, and whose defects were duplicates of his own and had inspired regret in the congregation he was serving, they concluded to try for reform—not wholesale, but half at a time. They took the liquor pledge and waited for results. During nine days the results were entirely satisfactory, and they were recipients of many compliments and much congratulation. Then on New-year's eve they had business a mile and a half out of town, just beyond the State line. Everything went well with them that evening in the bar-room of the inn—but at last the celebration of the occasion by

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those villagers came to be of a burdensome nature. It was a bitter cold night and the multitudinous hot toddies that were circulating began by and by to exert a powerful influence upon the new prohibitionists. At last X's friend remarked,

"X, does it occur to you that we are *outside the diocese?*"

That ended reform No. 1. Then they took a chance in reform No. 2. For a while that one prospered, and they got much applause. I now reach the incident which sent me back a matter of sixty years, as I have remarked a while ago.

One morning Mr. Blank-Blank met X on the street and said,

"You have made a gallant struggle against those defects of yours. I am aware that you failed on No. 1, but I am also aware that you are having better luck with No. 2."

"Yes," X said; "No. 2 is all right and sound up to date, and we are full of hope."

Blank-Blank said, "X, of course you have your troubles like other people, but they never show on the outside. I have never seen you when you were not cheerful. Are you always cheerful? Really always cheerful?"

"Well, no," he said, "no, I can't say that I am always cheerful, but—well, you know that kind of a night that comes: *say*—you wake up 'way in the night and the whole world is sunk in gloom and there are storms and earthquakes and all sorts of disasters in the air threatening, and you get cold and clammy; and when that happens to me I recognize how sinful I am and it all goes clear to my heart and wrings it and I have such terrors and terrors!—oh, they are indescribable, those terrors that assail me, and I slip out of bed and get on my knees and pray and pray and promise that I *will* be good, if I can only have another chance. And then, you know, in the morning the sun shines out *so* lovely, and the birds sing and the whole world is so beautiful, and—*b' God, I rally!*"

Now I will quote a brief paragraph from this letter which I have a minute ago spoken of. The writer says:

You no doubt are at a loss to know who I am. I will tell you. In my younger days I was a resident of Hannibal, Mo., and you and I were schoolmates attending Mr. Dawson's school along with Sam and Will Bowen and Andy Fuqua and others whose names I have forgotten. I was then about the smallest boy in school, for my age, and they called me little Aleck for short.

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I only dimly remember him, but I knew those other people as well as I knew the town drunkards. I remember Dawson's schoolhouse perfectly. If I wanted to describe it I could save myself the trouble by conveying the description of it to these pages from "Tom Sawyer." I can remember the drowsy and inviting summer sounds that used to float in through the open windows from that distant boy-Paradise, Cardiff Hill (Holliday's Hill), and mingle with the murmurs of the studying pupils and make them the more dreary by the contrast. I remember Andy Fuqua, the oldest pupil—a man of twenty-five. I remember the youngest pupil, Nannie Owsley, a child of seven. I remember George Robards, eighteen or twenty years old, the only pupil who studied Latin. I remember—in some cases vividly, in others vaguely—the rest of the twenty-five boys and girls. I remember Mr. Dawson very well. I remember his boy, Theodore, who was as good as he could be. In fact, he was inordinately good, extravagantly good, offensively good, detestably good—and he had pop-eyes—and I would have drowned him if I had had a chance. In that school we were all about on an equality, and, so far as I remember, the passion of envy had no place in our hearts, except in the case of Arch Fuqua—the other one's brother. Of course we all went barefoot in the summer-time. Arch Fuqua was about my own age—ten or eleven. In the winter we could stand him, because he wore shoes then, and his great gift was hidden from our sight and we were enabled to forget it. But in the summer-time he was a bitterness to us. He was our envy, for he could double back his big toe and let it fly and you could hear it snap thirty yards. There was not another boy in the school that could approach this feat. He had not a rival as regards a physical distinction—except in Theodore Eddy, who could work his ears like a horse. But he was no real rival, because you couldn't hear him work his ears; so all the advantage lay with Arch Fuqua.

I am not done with Dawson's school; I will return to it in a later chapter.

[*Dictated at Hamilton, Bermuda, January 6, 1907.*] "That reminds me." In conversation we are always using that phrase, and seldom or never noticing how large a significance it bears. It stands for a curious and interesting fact, to wit: that sleeping or waking, dreaming or talking, the thoughts which swarm

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through our heads are almost constantly, almost continuously, accompanied by a like swarm of reminders of incidents and episodes of our past. A man can never know what a large traffic this commerce of association carries on in our minds until he sets out to write his autobiography; he then finds that a thought is seldom born to him that does not immediately remind him of some event, large or small, in his past experience. Quite naturally these remarks remind me of various things, among others this: that sometimes a thought, by the power of association, will bring back to your mind a lost word or a lost name which you have not been able to recover by any other process known to your mental equipment. Yesterday we had an instance of this. Rev. Joseph H. Twichell is with me on this flying trip to Bermuda. He was with me on my last visit to Bermuda, and to-day we were trying to remember when it was. We thought it was somewhere in the neighborhood of thirty years ago, but that was as near as we could get at the date. Twichell said that the landlady in whose boarding-house we sojourned in that ancient time could doubtless furnish us the date, and we must look her up. We wanted to see her, anyway, because she and her blooming daughter of eighteen were the only persons whose acquaintance we had made at that time, for we were travelling under fictitious names, and people who wear aliases are not given to seeking society and bringing themselves under suspicion. But at this point in our talk we encountered an obstruction: we could not recall the landlady's name. We hunted all around through our minds for that name, using all the customary methods of research, but without success; the name was gone from us, apparently permanently. We finally gave the matter up, and fell to talking about something else. The talk wandered from one subject to another, and finally arrived at Twichell's school-days in Hartford—the Hartford of something more than half a century ago—and he mentioned several of his schoolmasters, dwelling with special interest upon the peculiarities of an aged one named Olney. He remarked that Olney, humble village schoolmaster as he was, was yet a man of superior parts, and had published text-books which had enjoyed a wide currency in America in their day. I said I remembered those books, and had studied Olney's Geography in school when I was a boy. Then Twichell said,

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"That reminds me—our landlady's name was a name that was associated with school-books of some kind or other fifty or sixty years ago. I wonder what it was. I believe it began with K."

Association did the rest, and did it instantly. I said,

"Kirkham's Grammar!"

That settled it. Kirkham was the name; and we went out to seek for the owner of it. There was no trouble about that, for Bermuda is not large, and is like the earlier Garden of Eden, in that everybody in it knows everybody else, just as it was in the serpent's headquarters in Adam's time. We easily found Miss Kirkham—she that had been the blooming girl of a generation before—and she was still keeping boarders; but her mother had passed from this life. She settled the date for us, and did it with certainty, by help of a couple of uncommon circumstances, events of that ancient time. She said we had sailed from Bermuda on the 24th of May, 1877, which was the day on which her only nephew was born—and he is now thirty years of age. The other unusual circumstance—she called it an unusual circumstance, and I didn't say anything—was that on that day the Rev. Mr. Twichell (bearing the assumed name of Peters) had made a statement to her which she regarded as a fiction. I remembered the circumstance very well. We had bidden the young girl good-by and had gone fifty yards, perhaps, when Twichell said he had forgotten something (I doubted it) and must go back. When he rejoined me he was silent, and this alarmed me, because I had not seen an example of it before. He seemed quite uncomfortable, and I asked him what the trouble was. He said he had been inspired to give the girl a pleasant surprise, and so had gone back and said to her—

"That young fellow's name is not Wilkinson—that's Mark Twain."

She did not lose her mind; she did not exhibit any excitement at all, but said quite simply, quite tranquilly,

"Tell it to the marines, Mr. Peters—if that should happen to be *your* name."

It was very pleasant to meet her again. We were white-headed, but she was not; in the sweet and unvexed spiritual atmosphere of the Bermudas one does not achieve gray hairs at forty-eight.

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I had a dream last night, and of course it was born of association, like nearly everything else that drifts into a person's head, asleep or awake. On board ship, on the passage down, Twichell was talking about the swiftly developing possibilities of aerial navigation, and he quoted those striking verses of Tennyson's which forecast a future when air-borne vessels of war shall meet and fight above the clouds and redden the earth below with a rain of blood. This picture of carnage and blood and death reminded me of something which I had read a fortnight ago—statistics of railway accidents compiled by the United States Government, wherein the appalling fact was set forth that on our 200,000 miles of railway we annually kill 10,000 persons outright and injure 80,000. The war-ships in the air suggested the railway horrors, and three nights afterward the railway horrors suggested my dream. The work of association was going on in my head, unconsciously, all that time. It was an admirable dream, what there was of it.

In it I saw a funeral procession; I saw it from a mountain peak; I saw it crawling along and curving here and there, serpentlike, through a level vast plain. I seemed to see a hundred miles of the procession, but neither the beginning of it nor the end of it was within the limits of my vision. The procession was in ten divisions, each division marked by a sombre flag, and the whole represented ten years of our railway activities in the accident line; each division was composed of 80,000 cripples, and was bearing its own year's 10,000 mutilated corpses to the grave: in the aggregate 800,000 cripples and 100,000 dead, drenched in blood!

MARK TWAIN.

(To be Continued.)

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THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

I.

THE teaching of religion to small children is a difficult subject in itself and a subject also of unfortunate controversy.

There are those who say it should be dogmatic; that however reasonably, and with whatever qualifications, propositions may be laid before adults, children require and can assimilate crisp and definite dogma.

There is probably some truth in this contention, but it may easily be misunderstood. Statements concerning fact, if preluded and supported by explanations and illustrations, may properly be summarized in dogmatic form; and in that form may be learned by heart; but elaborate theories, of the nature of ecclesiastical doctrines, are surely not appropriate for children. Dogma, however, cannot be excluded: children want to know something about the nature of man, of the universe and of God; they ask questions on these topics, and they ask questions about nature: one part of religious teaching is to answer these inquiries. Idle and impudent questioning should be discouraged —children are sharp enough to presume, if their sallies are considered amusing; they ought to know, and do know well enough, that these are great and serious topics—but reverent curiosity should be fostered; and then an attempt should be made to satisfy it, so far as we are able, in accordance with all that we know of reality; expressing as much of truth as we think they can understand, and indicating uncertainty where it admittedly exists.

The ultimate object of religious training must be to implant such ideas and habits as shall result in a happy childhood and a sound and useful life. We should not subordinate the life

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of the child, too entirely, to the life of the adult; it is a period of preparation truly, but it is something more than that; it is a life-period of value in itself. It is a time of considerable subjective length, and it should be allowed due weight and prominence in the scheme of existence.

At the same time, a respect for "grown-up" people is a natural childish instinct which ought not lightly to be destroyed. The first real gods of a child are his parents, however ungodlike they may be; and hence arises that feeling of security, and nearness of protection and law, which is one of the luxuries of childhood: and, I may add, one of the responsibilities of parenthood.

It is frequently maintained that children should have given to them, by the State, the religion of their parents. Some parents would be better if they had the religion of their children; and we have high authority for the idea that it is possible for adults to learn something from an unsophisticated child,—that childhood, in fact, may be higher in some respects than a subsequent condition.

In too many cases, in our barbarous state of society at present, children do have the religion of their parents; and a great pity it is. In some cases, it is a slum religion of a dangerous and troublesome kind. In another set of extreme cases, not nearly so frequent, it is a religion of mere greed and selfishness and social apathy,—a religion of the trough and stye. For "religion" is the outcome of our ideas about the universe: it is our response to all that we know, consciously or subconsciously, of cosmic law. We all have ideals, unformulated though they may be: our conduct frequently falls short of them; it can seldom or never surpass them.

But, looking at the matter on its best side, if children are to have the religion of the parents, then the parents are the right people to give it. They cannot expect to have it precisely given by deputy.

It is curious how, while the family is the unit for many things, it is not the unit for national education. It is isolated for most domestic purposes, there seems no idea of cooperative management in small matters: there is no cooperative cooking, not much cooperative washing, very little feeding in common, though it is the custom thus to drink. But education and the care of children are largely undertaken cooperatively: a sort of joint-stock

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arrangement is good enough for that. It seems to be thought that, though potatoes must be peeled and cooked separately, each household with its own fire and utensils, children can wisely be dealt with by the gross.

Now, it is very likely that cooking for a whole street might be economically and favorably carried out; and a few common social eating-houses for a small district, as at some places abroad, might not be a bad thing; but to undertake the joint education of all the children in such a district, to take them at an early age from their mothers, in order that the said mothers may earn something wherewith to pay the rent, including rates, and otherwise support the family, is not perhaps a perfectly good arrangement. "Our poverty but not our will consents" to it.

Small children require individual attention. In the family, in the ideal family, I mean, they get it: that seems to be the Providential or natural plan; but the conditions of average family life throughout, shall we say, England, are so bad that the State has to step in, and act as foster-parent: though a line is drawn at supplying them with bodily food. Only their minds may be treated by the community.

In discussing religious teaching, we are considering what we term their "souls"; and, however many clouds of glory the average poor child may be trailing, when he arrives on this planet, he has not to wait very long before every trace is completely lost; and "the vision splendid" fades into the light of common day, at a very early stage, I fear, in the infancy of the street urchin. It is a lamentable result of town life, and the struggle for existence, in our complex civilization. I am not sure that it is not a wicked and blasphemous condition of things. I incline to think that it is a bad investment from every point of view; that not only must it be regarded with disfavor in high quarters, but that the resulting outcome is in many respects ruinous and wretched, and such as to torment the sympathies and spoil the lives of all but the utterly thoughtless and selfish.

That nation, or colony, which could ensure that its children should spend their short and vital early years among healthy, happy surroundings, suited to their time of life and state of development, and leading to a good robust serviceable manhood and womanhood,—that nation would in a few generations stand out from among the rest of the world as something almost

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superhuman. The idea seems remote, the path towards its attainment too difficult; yes, but that is partly because too few realize it as an ideal, too few are aware of any such problem before them. They have no such aim: and without proper aim we are not likely to hit the mark. I do not believe that the problem is insoluble: I believe that some day it will be solved. Human life is not always going to be the failure that it is at present. Crime and vice and besotted stupidity are not always going to have it their own way. We owe it to the children to give them a fair and decent chance of understanding the world, and of living in it with pleasure and human profit.

People will say that it would cost too much. Nothing of the kind can cost too much! What is the meaning of life? What is this planet for? Consider those questions, and then consider whether as yet we have learned, or even effectively tried, to answer them in any reasonable manner: whether we are not hopelessly befogged by custom and buried beneath the relics of barbarous times. Taking control over the processes of evolution, in one way or another, is part of our serious duty: and no such duty is really divorced from practical religion.

I urge that attention to, and instruction in, physical conditions is a part of true religious teaching; and that many social reforms —such as purifying and revolutionizing the physical atmosphere of towns, such as reafforesting and beautifying waste and desolate places, such as restoring the humanizing influence of simple wholesome natural surroundings—must have an indirect but incalculable moral effect, and will indirectly aid the work of religion: a work which is now hampered and frustrated by untoward surroundings and other remediable and unnecessary defects.

However, we must leave the huge and complicated question of a better general social organization—though that ought to be the outcome of every religious belief if it is healthy—and limit ourselves to the consideration of how the average home or school can best be made a place of religious education. What should we teach our own children? What sort of religion is suited to the child's mind? What will bring forth the best fruit? For, surely, it is by the fruit of a good and developed life that any system must ultimately be judged. Good and faithful service is the end and aim.

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It is not natural to the child to think that the world exists for his pleasure and profit; it is natural to him to wish to be of use. He is happy when he feels that he is helpful; and the docility with which children flock to the monotonous grind of wage-earnings, apparently without question of its utility, is pathetic. There are only a few children, or youths rather, who without social rebuke are permitted to regard the world from a wholly selfish point of view, if they choose; but these are in a non-natural condition,—they need not exert themselves for a living—they inherit the religion of their parents.

II.

Now let us consider what it is that we are aiming at in teaching little children. I asked an experienced and somewhat inspired teacher of infants (the Principal of the Edgbaston Kindergarten) for some ideas on this subject; and she was good enough to send me a few notes or thoughts, which, though not intended for publication, I propose to reproduce. They are as follows:

"The religious education of little children ought to have the attributes of *Indirectness* and *Continuousness*. It should be indirect,—that is to say, not always consciously given under the name of religion: and continuous,—not once a week, or on specified occasions only, but always, and in the simple acts of life.

"By 'religious education' I mean an effort on the part of the adult to form such habits of body and mind, and such aspirations of soul, as shall tend towards a clean heart and the ultimate condition of a realization of unity with the Divine Spirit of Good. We worship this spirit—God—through his manifestations in Man, in Animals and in Plants, and in the expression (craftsmanship) of man which is (or ought to be) Art.

"Accordingly, a teacher of little children is teaching religion when she tries to form the elementary habits of cleanliness, order, punctuality and courtesy. (These qualities are necessary if we wish to show love to our fellows.) She is teaching religion when she helps her children to make animals—wild or domestic—happy and responsive. She is teaching religion when she helps her children to take care of their gardens, plants and flowers,—to leave beautiful things to grow in their own green world, to exercise self-control in a country lane in June.

"When a teacher touches her class with a beautiful song, picture or poem,—the history of our planet and other planets, and all the natural lore of the world—she is giving religious teaching. If she turns the instinct of destruction into one of creation, if she helps a self-centred child to make himself useful by preparing the accessories for the next lesson, if she teaches her pupils to respect persons and property,—all this is part of religion.

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"Above all, the imagination, the emotions and the sense of reverence for Beauty—anything which awakens these qualities—must be religious teaching; for are they not the roads leading to love, which is God?

"And all these things are taught not by words, but by doings—by action. They are not taught one day and left out of the next day's plan; they are not taught by one special kind of action, but by constant repetition under all the different forms which are supplied by the natural activities of a sane and happy life in the school or home."

III.

Now, clearly, this kind of practical every-day real education is or should be the work of an ideal home, as well as of a school. It is the homes that make our children what they are—for better, for worse,—and parents cannot really throw their responsibilities on others, however much they may try.

But in addition to all this practical and homely teaching, it will be said, there must be some doctrinal teaching, too: there must be some instruction in the elements of revealed or spiritual or theoretical religion.

Yes, that is generally admitted—though not universally. But, whatever doctrines are imparted, I venture to maintain that religious theory for children should not be based extensively on the doctrine of sin: it is not a natural or wholesome idea for them, as a foundation for religion, and its conventional treatment at revival meetings is apt to be terrifying. Children are not wicked, in the sense intended by those denunciations; they have their fits of temper, and they may be bad and disobedient, like animals; they may be even vicious, like them,—though, probably, that is an artificially made condition; moreover, if not properly instructed in social virtues, they may imitate their remote ancestors in lying and theft, and they may certainly be "spoiled"; but, when small, they must be largely the product of heredity and environment, and it is not fair to inflict on them theological doctrines concerning sin.

Considered from the point of view of evolution, healthy infancy under favorable conditions must be regarded as a period of innocency. It may be a question, therefore, as to what need there is for Theology at all. Why either frighten them with, or protect them from, ideas like those of the Pilgrim's Progress, about hell and Apollyon, the burden of guilt, the wrath to come, and the like? One answer is, I think, because such ideas are

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natural to undeveloped humanity; all savages have frightened themselves by vague imaginings, by sacrifices or propitiations, have sought to mitigate Divine wrath; and the untaught or badly taught notions of children about the universe are liable to be *more* terrifying than what we conceive to be the reality, not less. The childish atmosphere is full of potential superstition; and nurses or companions are sure to waken it sooner or later. The fact is, you do not avoid superstition by eliminating the idea of God. A writer, whom I shall quote directly, says: "It is clear that, unless you fortify a child against the fancies inherited from a dim and partly savage past, by teaching the clear protective personality [or, rather, aspect] of God, you leave it a prey to dark thoughts and terrible fear."

It is idle to suppose that a child can long be screened from the religious ideas of mankind; it is our business, therefore, to see that the teaching is of a right and helpful, and, so far as we know, true kind. Moreover, the Bible is part of their heritage, to which they have a right to be introduced; and they should also be helped to realize the advantages of belonging to some recognized community, for fellowship and brotherly help.

Here, however, enter difficulties. We are face to face just now with two momentous problems. How far does the Bible still hold its place as the supreme treasure-house of religious and ethical teaching? And of what value are the traditional rites and ceremonies, the outward symbols of various religious beliefs, in the spiritual education of our children?

To consider the latter question briefly first: It is unfortunately manifest that, in admitting, and still more in emphasizing, the value of ceremonies, we may get dangerously near to the arena of sectarian conflict, and drearily far from the spirit of true religion. Nevertheless, it is true that the religious instinct in most people, like the artistic instinct, struggles for some definite and appropriate expression in incarnate form. And though it seems probable that the religious instinct, as it strengthens within us, may ultimately urge us to materialize or express our beliefs through the higher organization of social life, rather than through the machinery of ecclesiastical ritual, yet it must be admitted that certain church influences—such as the definite occasion for attention to spiritual things, the fellowship of spirit, and the association of certain simple human acts with high

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thoughts,—give every religious sect a powerful opportunity for aiding the development of a child's soul, if they can be rightly utilized.

To pass to the other point—the value of the Bible in children's education: In so far as the Bible is unsuitable, or too grown up (and seeing that it is the literature of a people extending over many centuries, such unsuitability is not in the least surprising), the compilation by Mr. Mackail called "*Biblium Innocentium*" may be mentioned as an attractive temporary substitute or introduction. A recent book by an experienced teacher, Mr. Mitchell, recently of the University Men's Training College at Liverpool, now a vicar in Sheffield, called "How to Teach the Bible" (Williams & Norgate), contains some useful hints and elementary information. Among the hints I select the following two points: (1) That the Gospels are from their structure ready fashioned for the work of the teacher,—wonderfully perfect, he says, from this point of view; and (2) that the Gospel of Mark is a short, swiftly moving dramatic history; divisible perhaps into two parts, the first mainly relating to events in Galilee, previous to acceptance of the name of the Messiah; and the second half relating to subsequent events in Judæa. It can be read through at one sitting, or at most two; it is only half the length of "Hamlet," and not very much longer than the story of Joseph and his brethren.

That is one mode of dealing with a Gospel narrative, and it is a method insufficiently practised by adults; but, in my experience, even Mark is too long to be understood in that way by children. The material is of unequal value, and I doubt if children can carry away much from a comprehensive scamper over the ground.

Other parts of other Gospels, every one knows, are of the most striking character, and very appropriate for learning by heart. It is difficult to see how a teacher can go wrong in dealing with the Gospels; though, unfortunately, experience shows that it is possible, and that even such a subject as the Parables can be spoiled by making them technically a school subject, and submitting them to the labored treatment supposed to be suitable for examination purposes. Exact treatment, based upon scholarship and real information, can be most interesting to adults; but spurious or imitation-exact treatment, devised by parent or

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teacher without scholarship and with no real information, is to everybody instinctively repellent.

Other parts of the Bible, such as some of the Psalms and the Prophetic Books, are manifestly of great value; but they are for the most part only appropriate to elder children, in my judgment. The teaching of the Prophets is, indeed, urgently needed by many in the nation to-day.

There is so much that is thus good, from every point of view, that there has been recently a tendency on the part of some Education Authorities to select these manifestly worthy portions exclusively, and to avoid reading the more archaic and, so to speak, bloodthirsty books, such as Judges, Kings, and Genesis, altogether.

But these are the parts which children like; and I do not think we need be too squeamish. That which was appropriate to the early stages of the race will be more or less appropriate also to the early stages of the individual; and, if a child does not understand future literary and popular references to the chief names and events therein recorded, his education is lamentably deficient.

But I cannot say that I am able to attach much, perhaps not any, moral significance to these dramatic stories of ancient times. They are exceedingly interesting, from an adult point of view, and instructive as to early human ideas, but are not easily apprehended in the historic sense by children; who often fail to discriminate between a very ancient and a more modern period, or even between the Old and the New Testaments.

IV.

In order to ascertain what sort of notions has been formed in their early days by children who were still young enough not entirely to have forgotten those days,—which I am afraid is the case with many of us,—I catechised in a friendly manner a small class of children, of a reasonably intelligent and fairly favored kind. I think it may be interesting if I give a summary of the sort of questions and answers that went on; it being understood that the questions were elaborated and expressed in such a way as to be intelligible, not put in the curt form here set down.

Q. 1.—"*What parts of the Bible first impressed you, when very small?*"

Child A.—"I think the Ark, because I was interested in the animals, how they went in and what they would do there."

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Child B.—"I remember best about Gideon and the lamps, the breaking of the crockery and the attack in the sudden glare."

Child C.—"I used to like about Samson."

Child D.—"The flood, because it seemed the kind of thing that might happen again."

Child E (rather wearily).—"I suppose all that about Joseph."

Child F.—"I remember the man sowing; for there was a picture of it outside the book. I think I liked the pictures, and did not care for the words."

Very well, then, save for the pictorial exception, so far, we have Noah, Gideon, Samson Joseph: all in Judges and Genesis.

Q. 2.—"*Did these stories affect your conduct and make you better children?*"

General Chorus.—"Oh no. It has nothing to do with that; they were just stories!"

Child A.—"But not quite like other stories—more like history, perhaps, yet not like history."

Child B.—"No; people used to read them in a different way, so they felt different; but still they were stories."

Q. 3.—"*Do you remember the first times of going to church?*"

A.—"Yes; we used to look at the people: we did not understand at all, but in the sermon the preacher repeated one word many times, so I remembered that. I told it to my father, and he was pleased."

Q. 4.—"*Do you remember saying your first prayers?*"

A.—"Yes; but they had no meaning; it was just a going on of words—rather like gibberish. I remember asking [a slightly elder brother] whether it meant anything. It afterwards dawned on me that there was a meaning in the words, though still it felt like saying them over to mother or to nurse; though I remember that mother tried to explain about it."

Another child.—"My first religious recollection was saying the name 'Jesus' along with other names, and nurse told me never to use that word; so I felt there was something strange about it."

Q. 5.—"*Very well, then, come to the New Testament; what do you first remember about Christ?*"

Child A.—"Oh, I remember about the manger, and when he was twelve and the shepherds; but we got that from a hymn,—in fact, we got several things from hymns, especially those we had to say every night."

Child B.—"I used to like things about bushels and candlesticks, and things in Matthew; I am not sure whether that is Old or New Testament."

Child C.—"I think we like the New, now we are bigger; and some parts we used to like when small, such as the Parables."

[Town children, I fear, may be becoming inaccessible to some of the Parables.]

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Child D.—"And I remember liking the Sermon on the Mount, because it said, 'Blessed are the dressmakers,'—or so I thought for some time."

Q. 6.—"*How do you like the Bible now?*"

General Opinion.—"Oh, now we are doing dull parts; it does not seem to have stories like it used to. Solomon is a dull part."

Another child.—"When we did Acts at school, it was horrid."

Q. 7.—"*Well, do you think the New Testament affected your conduct?*"

A.—"No, I do not think so."

Q. 8.—"*Then, what makes you such good children?*"

A.—"Oh, it is not the Bible at all—nothing to do with that. A book like 'Being and Doing' might do us good."

Another child (a small one).—"I think that the Bible, now we are older, might do us good perhaps."

Q. 9.—"*How do you know the difference between right and wrong?*"

A.—"When you have done a thing wrong you feel it; you do not need people to tell you. But, anyhow, people do tell you. What they tell us may have an effect, but it has nothing to do with reading: it is mostly what we feel in ourselves."

Well, it is very incomplete, but I am sure it is true, so far as it goes, though I am doubtful what the full moral that might be drawn from a more extended inquiry of this kind might be. Something, I think, in the direction of the indirect and continuous influence of a good home, and the intercourse with each other and with friendly adults; without, necessarily, so very much *ad hoc* teaching, beyond what is necessary for literature, and for the purpose of answering serious questions about the problems of existence, such as rationally occur to children—not forcing them to receive answers before there is a chance of their being ready for them,—before, in fact, either question or answer has any real meaning.

Faith and trust in the Love and Goodness underlying the universe seem to me the most vital and helpful thing; this is able to remove a mass of terror and unreasoning suspicion,—quite natural to a being rising to consciousness in an immense universe, in which it is helpless, and of which it feels ignorant.

Ignorant, no doubt, to a great extent, we all are; but what we have of good hope and trust we should endeavor to impart to children, whether it appears to us specifically religious or not, so long as it appears definitely true. Much of it *must* be told as the result of our larger experience, and therefore must be in a sense dogmatic. This is the sort of dogmatic teaching that is legitimate; but, with doubtful and critical questions of ecclesi-

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astical theology, it does not seem to me that children have anything to do, or that such ideas have any practical effect. Such effect as they do have can hardly be regarded as altogether wholesome; much dread has been caused by them: it is rather cruel to inflict them on the receptive and docile mind of a child. If a child were to take seriously views expressed at some religious gatherings, and were to mope about its own salvation, it would be rather pitiful; if it were to pray for the conversion of its schoolfellows, instead of joining in their games, it would be monstrous. Healthy children do not do these things; their goodness is of another and higher order, not based upon a sickly consciousness of sin. And, so far as Christ is recorded to have dealt with children, He never thought of convicting them of evil; rather they were held up as examples of simple-hearted and natural goodness, such as we might learn from in the spirit, while we trained the body and taught the mind.

There is, however, a certain sort of dogma which we may wisely and circumspectly and reverently teach to children, if we think that there are fundamental facts which should precede initiation into the details of those differentiated doctrines which at present unhappily divide Christendom. Last year I drew up, and published as a small book, a Catechism of what I thought were the fundamentals of Christian faith, in a form suited to teachers and adults, for use with children from the adult's own standpoint; to be supplemented and enlarged and modified in accordance with personal conviction,—without which no religious teaching can be worthy of the name. I am now drafting a much-simplified statement, so as to summarize the essential features in a form more directly intelligible to children, and appropriate for learning by heart. This task is more difficult than the other, but it does not appear to be impossible; and it is hoped that it may be found a useful auxiliary to the larger document.

OLIVER LODGE.

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THE AWAKENING OF INDIA.

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE, INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

THE volcanic conditions prevalent in British India have something more than an academic interest for American citizens. The great Republic has long outgrown doctrines which would restrict her energies to the New World. She has wrested the last relics of colonial empire from Spain, and assumed the responsibility of governing 7,000,000 Asiatics. At no distant date she may be forced into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific with one or more Asiatic Powers. In the realm of economics, the solidarity of mankind has been well-nigh accomplished; and every pulsation of that mighty heart is felt from Maine to Mexico. No patriotic American can ignore the awakening of the East.

The first lesson taught by events of this twentieth century is that we are face to face with world-forces. Asia is the cradle of our religion and civilization, and both were evolved in the alluvial valleys of the Nile, Euphrates, Indus and Ganges, in the course of that "eternal conflict between East and West which dyed blood-red the waters of Salamis and brought Zenobia a prisoner to Rome." There is some reason to believe that the process operates in æons of 500 years; each swing of the vast pendulum being attended by drastic changes in religion, social institutions and international politics. No student can survey the landmarks of history from 500 B.C., without arriving at a conviction that the Demi-millennial Theory rests on a solid substratum of fact. It was enunciated thirty-five years ago by Mr. Stuart Glennie, who holds that a new era has dawned with the defeat of Russia by Japan. These forces have generated the unrest that marks our age, when ancient idols are tottering to their fall, and deeply rooted canons of thought and action are called in question. To withstand world-forces is impossible. It

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is the politician's function to forecast their operation, in order that the vital portions of existing institutions may emerge unharmed from their impact. *C'est contre le lendemain que mon esprit lutte,* said Prince Metternich to an American traveller, proving thereby that he had grasped one of the attributes of statesmanship. Progress is not attained by cataclysmic upheaval, but by the gradual modification of organs to suit a new environment.

Synthesis is an inherent property of human nature, and we may regard national consolidation as brought about by a series of ferments infusing new life into a chaotic mass. History marks the progress of change from fluidity and incoherence to consolidation and unity. The Superman seems essential to the making of the people. At every period of the world's history we find lawgivers, teachers, organizers and leaders, who tower high above their fellow men and guide them to a higher sphere in the leading-strings of fear or love. The welding agencies are some degree of uniformity in religion or morals, intermarriage, industrial cooperation and a democratic government. Thus is formed a multicellular organism, linked together by a living tissue of law, tradition, custom and history; furnished with organs for self-preservation and extending its environment; gifted, too, with a soul which reflects the ideal of the average human unit. It does not escape the laws of evolution which govern the material world. The stages of national growth are well defined. The first is one of mutual defence. Feudalism is usually associated with the break-up of the Roman Empire, but an almost identical system was evolved in India, Japan, Mexico and Peru.

It is based on the appropriation of land by a limited class, which is vested with privilege and saddled with corresponding duties. Thus an aristocracy of birth takes shape, which uses its legislative power for selfish ends, and becomes an oligarchy whose bond of union is mutual interest and caste-feeling. When feudalism has served its ends, the nation enters on an industrial era. This implies the concentration of labor in urban centres, whose wealth enables the *bourgeoisie* to wrest political power from the privileged classes.

But evolution is inexorable. The new ruling class succumbs in its turn to a democracy, whose spirit is thus admirably stated by Mr. Owen Wister:

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"It was through the Declaration of Independence that we American acknowledged the eternal inequality of man. For by it we abolished a cut-and-dried aristocracy. We had seen little men held up in high places and great men artificially held down in low places; and our own justice-loving hearts abhorred the violence to human nature. Therefore we decreed that every man should have equal liberty to find his own level. By this very decree we acknowledged and gave freedom to aristocracy, saying—'Let the best man win, whoever he is!'"

This stage is fraught with danger to the life of the social organism. If commercialism enter its soul, the higher faculties are doomed to atrophy; the burden of national defence is shifted to mercenaries; the current of national life is narrowed by feudal survivals and choked by gross materialism. The dying community becomes a prey to parasitic growths, or is absorbed by a more virile neighbor.

Taine has remarked that the growth of moral sense is characteristic of a decadent community. In point of fact, a moral stage should succeed one in which a people's energies are concentrated on production and material enjoyment. The national conscience awakes to the evils of unrestricted competition, and realizes the fact that the Government exists not to promote the accumulation of wealth, but the diffusion of happiness. Hitherto, this renascence has come too late to prevent disintegration. In the world-wide arena of international struggle progress is stimulated by racial antipathies. Deep-seated is the hostility between Aryan and Semite, between white and yellow races. Cooperation is, indeed, a higher evolutionary process than the Struggle for Life, but ages must pass by ere it extend to the relations between communities. Each blindly obeys the promptings of the wish to live at its neighbors' expense. The hiving instinct, or earth-hunger, impels a vigorous nation to extend its borders by means of warfare, commercial enterprise or colonization. But when a civilized government comes into contact with others less advanced, its conquests must continue until they reach the sea, an impassable mountain barrier, or the frontiers of another State strong enough to be mistress at home. Such is the genesis of all empires, past and present. Their permanence is in a direct ratio with their power of assimilation. No Government, however enlightened, suffices to weld a community together in lasting bonds. As I have remarked above, the necessary factors in nation-building are some uniformity in the standard of religion or

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morals, miscegenation and democratic rule. In the absence of these essentials, the victor's iron grasp must, sooner or later, relax; and his distant possession is left to a far worse fate than if it had never tasted of the cup of civilization.

Applying these canons of evolution to India, we perceive the tremendous perplexity of the problems with which Great Britain is confronted. The peninsula is a triangle of 1,500,000 square miles in area. Its base, resting on Asia, is protected by the impenetrable Himalayan range. Only on the northwest is India vulnerable by passes in the Suleiman Mountains. Its sides are washed by the sea, and have but few good harbors. Thus, India has the advantages and defects of an insular position, which favors the growth of national life, while it intercepts currents of energy from without. In prehistoric times the central plateau was an island; but it had been connected with the mainland by detritus washed from the Himalayas by a group of mighty rivers. The alluvial plains of India afford a key to her civilization and history. The valleys of the Indus, Ganges, Brahmaputra, and their network of tributaries, yearly fertilized by silt, are fit breeding-grounds for the human race. The climate is tropical, but the northern provinces have extremes of hot and cold. It is enervating to muscular power, while it stimulates the sexual instinct. Before the dawn of history, India was the habitat of aboriginal tribes, who lived by fishing and the chase. About 1500 B.C., if not much earlier, waves of foreign invasion began to pour in from the northwest. The newcomers' kinship with ourselves was proved by their lofty brow, clearly cut features and fair complexions. They had reached a high degree of civilization, were well organized for war, and brought with them the Sanskrit language—perhaps the most complex and perfect of all vehicles for exchanging thought. Their religion was the worship of Nature-powers; and the antisocial caste-instinct had not yet developed. These Aryans drove the aboriginal tribesmen to the mountains and forests, or reduced them to slavery. On settling down in the alluvial valleys, their warlike spirit relaxed, and their skins darkened. The synthetic tendency produced caste distinctions. Priests, warriors, professional men and traders formed communities apart, and intermarriage became impossible. Thus the chief factor in nation-building was absent. With specialization came greater complexity in religion. It developed an ethical

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side, and blindly sought the Intelligence which stands behind elemental powers. In this view, the world is an arena for the activities of creating, sustaining and destroying influences. The human soul seeks absorption in Divinity; but its impurities cannot be purged away in the course of one transient life. Thus arose the doctrine of Metempsychosis, which enunciates the transmigration of souls during ages of purifying trial. Asceticism was a necessary consequence, and the keen-witted priesthood developed a marvellous system of philosophy. The ignorant masses were held in thrall by legends celebrating the exploits of demigods—incarnations of the Sustaining Influence.

In the sixth century B.C. Hinduism underwent a transient reformation. Gautama, known to his followers as Buddha—"The Intelligence"—headed a reaction against Brahmin arrogance, and the materialism attending prosperity. He rejected caste, and the elaborate ceremonial which was the backbone of priestcraft, but retained the conception of Metempsychosis. Buddha anticipated Schopenhauer in believing that existence is a curse, and annihilation a blessing. The latter could be effected only when a balance had been struck between the good and evil actions of the soul after undergoing countless transmigrations. The charity of Buddhism knows no bounds, but its spirit is distinctly individualistic. It preaches resignation, passive contemplation and abstraction from mundane affairs. Such a creed was incompatible with the struggle for life; and after enduring for eleven hundred years it provoked another reaction. In the sixth century of our era, Hinduism in a degraded form was restored. Brahmins regained ascendency, and strengthened their position by multiplying ceremonial observances. Religious ideals degenerated. No longer was the Creative Influence adored. Its place was usurped by a Sustaining Factor in its generative aspect. This cult soon assumed a highly sensuous form, and brought about the subjection of women. The Goddess of Destruction was placated by cruel rites. Heroes, regarded as incarnations of the Gods above; symbols of material wealth, such as a Cow and the River Ganges, found millions of suppliants. The theory of government was a pure theocracy; the warrior caste a secular arm, ever ready to do the Brahmins' bidding. The lower castes spread out into countless ramifications, resembling mediæval guilds, linked by religion, but kept apart by marriage customs. Caste stereo-

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types a man's position at his birth, and is fatal to social cohesion. Another disintegrating element was the crystallization of society into minute particles. In course of centuries, the Indian plains were overspread by villages, each a complete self-governing unit, like so many infantry battalions. A congeries of States resting on such foundations is powerless against foreign aggression.

In 1001 A.D. came the first of many waves of Moslem invasion. Arabia, inhabited by a fierce, high-souled and contemplative race, was the cradle of Islam. The bane of religion is mysticism, which seeks the Creator but ignores the world, and fanaticism, which is mysticism translated into action. The Arab character was a forcing-ground for these qualities. Islam is a monotheism of the higher type. Its cardinal doctrines are resignation to God's will, the duties of prayer, penance and pilgrimage, the brotherhood of believers, and missionary effort attended by the sword. Inspired by fatalism and the memory of a great name, the Khalifs' followers subdued western Asia, and invaded Europe. But for the crushing defeat which they received from a Christian coalition at Tours (732 A.D), the West would now acknowledge that "there is no God save Allah and Mohammed is His Prophet." The princes of India could not withstand such forces. One by one they succumbed; and the sixteenth century saw an Islamic Empire installed at Delhi. The Mogul rulers were essentially nomads. They encamped in the peninsula, and their reigns were spent in moving from one extremity to the other with a locustlike horde of followers. Such education as they tolerated was purely Moslem; and the current of national life was scarcely affected. At one moment it seemed as though India had found the Superman who would lead her in the path of progress. The Emperor Akbar (1560-1605) had boundless sympathy associated with high culture, and a truly enlightened spirit. He took counsel of the best elements in Hindu society, and his system of Government has left indelible traces on Indian polity. His descendant Aurangzib (1658-1707) was a bigot born in the purple; and his long reign was an era of persecution terminating in civil war. At his death, the Empire, knit together by Akbar's statecraft, fell to pieces. Provincial satraps threw off their allegiance to the puppet Emperor of Delhi, and kingdoms arose with mushroom rapidity.

Meantime, European society had traversed the feudal stage,

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and entered one of industry (1500-1900). The transformation of energy was brought about by a variety of causes. Printing multiplied the power of intellect a thousandfold. The grandeur and impeccable beauty of classical literature came as a revelation to the human mind. Renascence in art and literature inspired revolt against the absolutism and dogma of Rome. The hiving instinct grew stronger, and it prompted maritime nations to seek new worlds beyond the sea. The discovery of America synchronized with that of the Cape route to India. Portuguese, English and Dutch mariners competed for a share in the rich Eastern commerce, and established factories on the Indian coast. At first, they came as timid suppliants; but they grew bolder in the anarchy of Mogul decadence. The instinct of self-preservation compelled them to maintain armies, and form alliances with native Powers. In the race for wealth, British merchants distanced all competitors. An insular position had given their country sea-power and comparatively free institutions; and they received heart-whole support from home. France was the last to succumb. During the first half of the eighteenth century she was a great colonizing Power; but the utter rottenness of the government of Louis XV destroyed an Indian Empire in the making. Hitherto, the Great Mogul, even in his degradation, was a word to conjure with. Had his nominal satrap who ruled Bengal respected the persons of British traders, the bubble might have been long in bursting. The Black Hole of Calcutta was avenged by Plassey (1757), which taught the lesson that Asiatics, led by Asiatics, were no match for European discipline. The prestige of superior might made a company of merchant adventurers the paramount power in India. Among the mother-ideas of Socialism was a spectacle of a band of traders governing an Empire.

Their early attempts to administer this rich and densely peopled domain were mere gropings in the dark. The white "Nabobs" were intent on wringing fortunes from the hopeless ryots, and their insolent wealth degraded the ideals of their countrymen at home. It is probable that India suffered more from the knavery and strength of European civilization than from the preceding anarchy. An exotic system of law was foisted on a people only too ready to profit by imported chicane. The ancient village organization was ruthlessly trampled on; landlordism in its worst

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form was introduced into Bengal. With greater experience, the quality of our government improved; and the rulers of India began to grasp their duty towards subject races. Natives gained a footing in the lower grades of the official hierarchy; and English became the medium of higher instruction throughout the peninsula. The imposing edifice rested on insecure foundation. The centenary of Plassey was the signal for a revolt of our pampered native army, which shook the Empire to its foundations. Its suppression was a landmark in history. India passed under the control of the British Crown, or rather of the omnipotent Parliament. No public assembly could be less fitted for so gigantic a task. Ignorant, parochial, opportunist and rent by factions, the House of Commons has allowed its great dependency to be governed by a bureaucracy whose permanent officials have no personal knowledge of their charge. Their servants in the East are far better qualified to administer an Empire. They have the virtues and defects of an imperial race; and the edifice which has arisen in a brief half-century has genuine claims to the world's admiration. India enjoys peace within her borders, security from foreign aggression. The laws have been admirably codified. A network of 29,000 miles of railway, vast systems of irrigation, postal and telegraph services in advance of those of Europe, medical relief, some measure of Western education—such are the advantages which India has reaped from foreign rule. One thing alone is wanting, and that is the union of hearts. We are camping in the peninsula like our predecessors the Moguls. Miscegenation is impossible; for the handful of British would be overwhelmed in the mass, as were the Portuguese three centuries earlier. Efficient government is secured by a constant influx of the flower of Britain's youth. Conquering races are, *ipso facto*, deficient in imagination and sympathy. The British nature is positive, material, refractory to new impressions, and adverse to philosophic speculation. Moreover, national ideals have deteriorated since the Jubilee of 1887, which provoked an aristocratic reaction, and heightened the lust of dominion. The pseudo-imperialism thus generated received a setback from the Boer War; but commercialism and a thirst for material enjoyment have entered the nation's soul to the detriment of all its higher faculties. Anglo-Indians unwittingly outrage native sentiment by consuming forbidden food. "I love you, Sahib," said a

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Sikh of high rank to his English friend; "but when I think that you are in the habit of devouring beef, my soul shrinks from yours!" Their interest in the languages and higher manifestations of Indian thought is very slight. Many have no other ambition than to spend as large a proportion of Indian service as possible in hill stations, and hasten back to the delights of golf and bridge. The British are not alone to blame for the widening gulf between rulers and ruled. The Indian nature is charitable, self-denying and prone to natural affection. The cultured classes are idealists, with a secret contempt for material civilization. But the fruit of ages of subjection is seen in their fatalism and lack of self-reliance. Owing to deficient moral balance, they often exhibit the most astounding contradictions. Religious and caste prejudices divide them into countless semi-hostile communities, and restrict social intercourse with Europeans. The saving clause in their complex character is a limitless capacity for admiration. An Englishman gifted with the nobler virtues is loved and obeyed with devotion. Herein, perhaps, lies the key to the problem of governing India.

It can hardly be said that the worthiest traits in Indian nature are elicited by education. The percentage of children attending school to the total population is only 1.9, as compared with 13 in England. Technical instruction has scarcely begun, and infinitesimal is the number of girls who receive any kind of training. Young men are taught to remember, rather than to think for themselves. No pains are taken to form character or inspire a sense of public duty. The output of our Colleges and High Schools is far in excess of the country's wants; and thousands of youths find that their dearly bought culture fails to give them bread. Their bitter disappointment finds vent in the press. The united circulation of India's seventeen hundred vernacular journals is insignificant from a Western point of view. But each copy is read to a little crowd of eager listeners after the daily work is done, and their hostile tone has permeated the masses. The Congress movement has had a similar effect. It commenced in 1885, as an aftermath of the racial friction generated by Lord Ripon's well-meant effort to equalize the legal status of Europeans and Indians. It is the wire-pullers' aim to destroy the monopoly of high office enjoyed by the ruling race and pave the way for democratic government. In its earlier stages the

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agitation was conducted by constitutional methods, but they have given place to a campaign of slander and misrepresentation.

India's isolation is a thing of the past. She is penetrated by world-forces, amongst which are Socialism and its offshoot, Anarchism. In both, the cardinal doctrine is class warfare, culminating in a cataclysm which will sweep away the inequalities and injustices of society. It is more than a coincidence that Lajpat Rai, who has recently been deported for sedition, consorted last year with Anarchists in Paris and Brussels. Political agitators have borrowed the tactics described by Karl Marx and Bakunin. Moreover, the spirit of revolt has infected millions belonging to the lower castes. The jute traffic has poured a flood of wealth into Bengal, whose down-trodden masses chafe under Brahmin despotism and crave for a larger measure of social recognition. But the distribution of wealth is as defective as it is in Europe. An increasing percentage of the Indian population is always on the verge of famine. Railways have equalized the price of food, and maintained it at a far higher level than in the days of native rule. Foreign commerce is, indeed, advancing by leaps and bounds; but, from an Indian point of view, it does not conduce to the general well-being. The great bulk of its profits is spent in Europe, America and China. Exports consist mainly of raw materials; imports, of manufactured goods which might readily be produced by organized labor within the Empire. Indigenous industries have been killed by free trade, and those who pursued them have been relegated to an overburdened soil. Ninety per cent. of the population are agriculturists, most of whom are packed into the alluvial areas. Early marriage and large families are inculcated by religion. Thus the preventive checks enunciated by Malthus are at work on a gigantic scale. Warfare and famine are prevented by the British Government, but it is powerless against cholera and plague. The pressure of population on the soil is felt by all classes with increasing stringency; and they blame alien rulers for the consequences of their own disobedience to nature's laws.

Religion is an important factor in the existing ferment. The 207,000,000 Hindus are ruled with an iron rod by the Brahmins, who are strongly organized, and present common characteristics from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Their dream is a restoration of the theocracies destroyed nine centuries ago, and it is

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communicated to the devotees who flock by millions to places of pilgrimage. The rising at Manipur in 1891, which led to the slaughter of the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was planned at Kalighat, a temple of the Goddess of Destruction near Calcutta. The 5,000,000 religious mendicants who batten on Hindu charity and superstition are inveterate foes to the foreign rule. The ideals of Indian Mussulmans, numbering 62,000,000, have undergone a curious transformation. The upper class, descended from Mogul soldiers and statesmen, knew that time was when English merchants sued for the crumbs that fell from the Emperor's table. Their attitude towards us was one of aloofness, and they were inclined to resent the virtual monopoly of high office secured by the suppler and more subtle Hindus. About ninety years ago a reform movement set in among the population of Bengal, whose forebears had been forcibly converted by the Moguls. It was Puritanism of a militant type, and aimed at the extirpation of Christian rule. But in the last few years a change has taken place in the spirit of Islam throughout Asia. The example of Japan has proved that the West may be beaten with its own weapons, and cultured Mohammedans are assimilating the nobler side of European civilization while they reject its dross. The current agitation is essentially Hindu, and those who profess the rival cult are ranging themselves on the British side. Christians of all denominations number barely one per cent. of the population. Proselytes would come in more freely if Christian secretaries would lay aside their mutual jealousy; but the political influence of missionary effort is wholly good. The spectacle of self-devotion, self-denial and brotherly love afforded by devoted Europeans of all denominations is a powerful antidote to the profound materialism of our Government.

Such are the more salient features of the unrest which is permeating India. It is nothing else than the blind struggle of an embryonic national soul to find corporate existence. England has given her great dependency a *lingua franca* for the interchange of thought, means of communication which annihilate space and natural obstacles. For the first time in their history educated Indians are united by a common Government and common political ideals. They are in complete touch with the external world. If the example of Japan has fired the imagination of Indian patriots, the lessons taught by the passive resistance of

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Nonconformists and the efforts of Englishwomen to secure political rights have not been lost. The Wish to Live of a nascent organism has been outraged by the partition of Bengal. However necessary some such measure may have been from an administrative point of view, it was far too drastic, and has robbed the ancient province of rich districts which were geographically and politically its own. Of the measures adopted by Indian wire-pullers it is hard to speak with equanimity. The boycott, by which they hoped to bring Great Britain to her knees, was evidently inspired by the direct pressure and general strike recognized by Anarchists, and is equally impossible of realization. For good or for evil, India has entered the comity of civilized nations, and is linked to it by countless ties. Her isolation would mean a reversion to the barbarism of the pre-Aryan period. Such senseless and wicked manœuvres will serve only to make compromise impossible. Nor can the policy of our Indian Government escape condemnation. It neglected the maxim "*Principiis obsta,*" and allowed Bengal and the Punjab to drift into a state perilously resembling anarchy. Then it passed from timidity to the opposite extreme. Regulation III of 1818, which was raked up in order to spirit Lajpat Rai two thousand miles from his home, was framed in order to deal with the European adventurers let loose on India by the peace of 1815. When the Tsar of Russia adopts such measures, Englishmen can find no words to express their indignation. The prosecution of obscure native journals only increases their circulation. The prohibition of political meetings closes a channel by which popular discontent is brought to the knowledge of the ruling class. To grapple with external symptoms and neglect deep-seated causation is to lay up a store of racial hatred which will bear bitter fruit in the next decade.

Is the Indian problem, then, insoluble? A gleam of hope is afforded by the awakening of England's conscience. She is entering on a moral stage of national existence, and is becoming alive to the evils attending the unequal distribution of wealth, limitless competition, feudal privilege and *laissez faire*. Her broadening sympathy may, possibly, extend to the three hundred millions of Asiatics for whose welfare she is responsible in the sight of God. European civilization is not the last word; it has much to learn from Asia. From an evolutionary point of view, subject

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races are an impossibility. It is not in the nature of things that an Empire in another hemisphere should be eternally governed from a little group of islands set in northern seas. England's mission is to pave the way for a time when India shall take her place beside the great self-governing Colonies. Indians, too, should profit by the precious years of British peace. They are by no means strong enough to stand alone, and the withdrawal of 70,000 foreign bayonets would plunge them into anarchy and civil war. Social must precede political reform. When the bonds of caste are broken, when Brahmin tyranny is overthrown, when Indian women are emancipated, the process of nation-building will have really begun. Technical education is in its infancy; the empire's resources are poorly developed, and—except in Bombay—the agency has been European, not native, capital. Great Britain and India alike must take to heart the burning words of Ruskin, "That nation is wealthiest which contains the greatest number of noble and happy lives."

FRANCIS H. SKRINE.

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THE GERMAN PRESS.

BY AUSTIN HARRISON.

NOTHING sticks so long as a bad name, a good nickname or a false reputation; and Bismarck's apothegm, half parable, half paradox, that the German Government had to pay for the window-panes its press smashed, has gone down to posterity with legendary fame and familiarity. As when Uncle Toby swore his first oath, the Recording Angel may well have blushed as the *mot* was registered—the stigma persists; and so the German Press still is regarded as the most reckless, ignorant, irresponsible and ill-informed in any country in Europe.

Public opinion in Germany being commonly reputed to be non-existent, or if existent impotent, it is not unnatural that the German Press should be decried generally as a totally inadequate, unrepresentative and unimportant institution; reflecting neither the voice of the people nor the opinion of the Government, neither the temper of the nation nor the will of the Emperor; ill-conditioned because ill-directed, discrediting and compromising its own Government, policy and people; and, since it possesses little prestige in its own country, *ipso facto* not calling for the serious attention of politicians in others. This reputation was, of course, precisely the one which Bismarck, in his perspicuous statecraft, desired that it should have. In the years immediately succeeding the creation of the German Empire, public opinion hardly existed in Germany at all. The public conscience lay dormant (politically speaking) in palsied Philistinism, the heritage of Napoleonic dominion. In schism, controversy and in a wilderness of partisan meta-politics, the Germans had grown from infancy to manhood, from a centrifugal congeries of States and State policies to national unity and cohesion, overnight almost as it were, by blood and iron; and, on the morrow of the great

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event, lacked not only political education, but singleness of national purpose or understanding for their epochal political achievement.

To mould the people, Bismarck set about moulding and establishing a great press. No statesman ever used the press to such purpose, with greater advantage to himself, or with more unscrupulous effect. He established a press bureau in the Wilhelmstrasse, which became and still is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. From the chemistry of his "inspiration," Busch, "his little Archer," shot off his journalistic arrows in the guise of *ballons d'essai,* test questions and crooked answers, threats, suggestions, insinuations, declarations, backed up by the "inspired" leading article, the suggestive *entrefilet,* the historical survey and the paragraph of bluff; throwing over the whole German Press a skein of intrigue, diplomatic blarney and mystery which it was the duty of European chancelleries and journalists to unravel, and if necessary to respond to. Bismarck is dead, but his deeds live after him. In all essentials, the German Press to-day is to the political student as invaluable as it was in Bismarck's days. In many ways it is the most faithful index of impending political events of any press in Europe.

Let it be said at once that to those who can read, the German Press reflects the whims, ambitions and aims of the Government as no other medium can do. It is the most docile, well drilled and controlled, the most supine, press in all international questions of any in the world. On foreign affairs, it is the instrument of authority, not the expression of the popular sentiment or will. In such matters it waives all right of independent opinion. Now, in this servility to official guidance lies its inherent strength, and its chief claim to our attention.

To imagine that the lucubrations of German journalists are not worth the ink expended on them, and that the press is badly informed, badly directed, without coherent aim or policy, is to fall into the very trap that Bismarck laid for the artless politician when he promulgated his exceedingly artful press dictum. The secret of understanding the German Press is this: first, that on questions of foreign policy it is never independent, though frequently entirely divorced from public opinion; and, secondly, that whatever it does say, it says with some object, either tentative, advisory, minatory, or otherwise, and that it may faithfully

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be regarded as the mouthpiece of semi-official opinion. It is important to appreciate this fact.

Not that it is easy to read the German Press always correctly. For this, obviously, considerable experience is necessary. Mystification is often the object of diplomacy. One must "know" the papers, and of course any one who has resided in Germany has an enormous advantage over the tyro, who is unacquainted with the men of the press, or those who "impress" them. At the present moment, the press is far more centralized politically than it used to be, and as subject to "inspiration" as it ever was. Its centre is Berlin. From the oracles of the Wilhelmstrasse the idea goes forth. A suggestion, a pat on the back, a political simile or jest or quotation, a diplomatic wink, or hoodwink—such devices are sufficient, and their substance appears in a leading article or in paragraphic completeness, which is repeated by rote through the provincial press of all Germany. With the exception of the Socialist organs, the great provincial papers are fed from Berlin, where they maintain their own correspondents; and in this way Hamburg knows what München, and Dresden what Breslau and all other cities, repeat. This, of course, simplifies the matter. The incense emanates from the capital, and thus it is enough to study the Berlin papers to know quite accurately what political Germany thinks about any important international question.

However anomalous it may seem to Americans, German Press humility does not entail humiliation. In a country where freedom of speech and person is limited, and where autocratic, military rule is absolute, it is natural enough that the press should be receptive and subservient. Journalism in the Fatherland is the calling for those who, for some reason or other, have never found another calling. It is an estate without a status. Emoluments are small. It carries no dignity, offers no position, involves neither social, political nor literary distinction. Thus inevitably its ranks are recruited from the flotsam and jetsam of other professions, almost never from the schools; and the open contempt with which Germans regard the "Gentlemen of the Press" is one of the main causes of German political ignorance. Nor does the German public at all resent the conception of a "reptile press" as in any way reflecting upon the public prestige. It is recognized as the tool of the Government, as the public whipping-

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toy which all alive can have a fling at. Then, too, ridiculous orders and titles being cheap, much-prized loyalty is easily preserved, and small difficulty is experienced in manipulating the machine. The *flair* for news is generally lacking. Independent enterprise finds little opportunity. Foreign correspondence is meagre in the extreme. And practically the entire German Press depends for its foreign intelligence upon the very economical service of the semi-official Telegraph Agency, which supplies only the barest facts, and, being itself under official tutelage, exercises a semi-official influence over the entire German Press. Were it not for the foreign correspondence of the "*Lokal Anzeiger*" of Berlin and the letters in the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," the German public would practically know nothing of what goes on in other countries except occasional facts of what Germans would style of world-political importance.

Needless to say, this is a very pernicious state of things. The German public is kept systematically in profound ignorance of events in other countries; and, as there are no rival agencies, and no likelihood of any rival agency appearing, this state of things will probably continue for a very long time. The absence of press initiative renders it an easy matter for the Government to keep the press "in order," the public in ignorance, and to stir up artificial waves of emotion and indignation whenever the "authorities" judge it provident to do so. Thus, during the Boer War, the public was completely hoaxed by the press. And thus, too, in all questions regarding Russia, everything is done to spare Russian susceptibilities, and nothing is permitted to be said that may give offence to the Government of the "Little Father." As, moreover, the German newspapers are widely read in Russia and arrive there before the English mails, the German Press invariably addresses itself to its audience across the Eastern frontier and writes on all international affairs for Russian consumption. During the Russo-Japanese War, though German sympathy was markedly anti-Russian, the German Press on every possible occasion "wrote up" Russian victories and prophesied Japanese defeat, and adopted an attitude of sympathy with the Tsar's legions utterly at variance with the feelings of the nation, which felt as bitterly towards Russia as it did towards England—only that, in the case of Russia, the press refused to give it expression, while in the case of England the press encouraged it!

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"Reptile" Bismarck called his press, and few who know it will contend that it has done anything since to belie that reputation. A press which is controlled by semi-official inspiration, which, without any independent thought or conscience of its own, will resort to calumny or lickspittling, according to direction, and which on foreign politics writes not so much for the education or guidance of its own public as for the greater and more intelligent political public in other countries, must be more or less "reptile," and a very fair weathercock of German diplomacy. Neither party faction nor political personal ambition in any way affects the attitude of the press on foreign affairs. Editors seem to regard such matters as beyond the province of their imagination. They distrust their own judgment. They seek blindly for inspiration, and they get it. And that is the reason why the German Press is so instructive a political handbook.

How does the press draw its inspiration? Well, readers of Busch's "Secret Pages of the History of Bismarck" will remember the delectable scene wherein the author describes his first bow to his future master. He has left us a vivid account of the nature of his duties, how he became the amanuensis of the great Chancellor, and how with his ready pen he kept Europe in a constant state of trepidation in the interests of high German diplomacy. The system remains. The esoteric mysteries of "inspiration" are as obvious as the oracles themselves.

As before said, the press bureau is an integral part of the German Foreign Office. It has a head and a staff of some four or five members, drawn, like Busch, mostly from the press; men who have been singled out for official distinction—for, on entering the Foreign Office, they become officials with an official status. Their duties are fairly arduous. The senior members receive press representatives and instruct them in their calling, and they are in constant touch with the Chancellor, and one of them invariably attends upon him in the Reichstag. From this bureau emanate elaborate articles on international politics, elliptical paragraphs and "well-informed" rebukes administered to foreign peoples and to refractory German organs.

It is frequently observed that the degree of information of the various newspapers varies in great measure, now one paper, like the "Post," apparently knowing everything, now the "National Zeitung," now the "Frankfurter Gazette," now the "*Ber-*

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liner Lokal Anzeiger" or some out-of-the-way provincial organ. The reason for this is what Germans would call the "personal moment." Naturally, some members of the press are more favored than others, or they are cleverer at deducing, comprehending and anticipating, and they learn more than the man who, knowing nothing himself, endeavors to get the tip by fair and square tackling. Some press representative is always *persona grata,* and one of the best informed men in Germany, who perhaps knows as much about the "true inwardness" of German domestic and foreign policy as the Chancellor himself, is the Berlin correspondent of the *"Frankfurter Zeitung"*; but he is extremely cautious and loyal to the Government he serves.

The press office is always open. It is a sort of political inquiry agency; and once a journalist has the ear of the oracle, and is clever and tactful, he can learn as much about the trend of political affairs as is good for him, and becomes a very "well-informed" and useful contributor to his newspaper. Of course, obedience is essential. If he is instructed to say something about British perfidy, and then writes an article about Britain's rectitude, he may find the workshop closed next time he applies for admittance, or an even worse fate may befall him, so that in effect the use of the press office is remarkably disciplinarian and dictatorial, and offers an effectual clog to individual journalistic effort—which, it may be, is also its main object. As a rule its mandates are never disobeyed. It decrees, and exacts implicit obedience. And the journalist who desires to get on has to take the straight "tip" without demurrer or exalted individualism. In this way it diffuses its influence over the whole country.

Abroad, too, German Press "inspiration" is an important asset in every well-appointed German Embassy. There is usually some member of the embassy deputed to receive correspondents, to keep in touch socially with the captains of the press and to temper the distemper of a "bad press." German Embassies are not for ornament and mere representation. In London, during the reaction following on the German Anglophobia of the Boer War, strenuous efforts were made to placate and assuage the British press, and it must be admitted that German Embassies are fully aware of the growing importance of sympathetic co-operation with the press, and obtain very gratifying results in consequence. In Paris, during the recent Moroccan crisis, and

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in the days of the Algeciras Conference, some remarkably adroit subterranean work was accomplished, with which achievement the presence of the leading member of the press bureau of the Wilhelmstrasse in the French capital may legitimately be connected. With Americans the Emperor has set the fashion, having broken all precedent by receiving the Berlin correspondent of the Associated Press in Berlin,—whereas it is notorious that German journalists are absolutely tabooed at Court—and by never letting the opportunity pass of tendering his imperial *petits soins* to American pressmen. This is always noticeable at the Kiel regatta and other great functions. It is mentioned here as evidence of the Emperor's "modernness" and intelligent understanding of contemporary conditions of political life.

A word must be said about the influence of the great commercial and financial magnates on the German Press and of their growing power in things political. Men like Ballin, the founder of German commercial power; like the late Krupp, the arm and burgonet of German sociocracy; like the late v. Siemens, the designing brain of the Baghdad railway scheme; like the great bankers Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Bleichroeder, etc.; and, latterly, like Scherl, the proprietor of the "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," exercise far more influence on German politics than is commonly supposed. The Kaiser and Ballin made Germany a great sea-power. The bankers initiated the German policy of economic penetration in South America, Asia Minor, China, and Morocco, and maintain and virtually direct it. Without the Deutsche Bank and the Disconto Gesellschaft Bank, Germany would never have entered South America at all; and without the banking interest the great Anatolian railways scheme would never have been conceived. The Emperor early saw their influence and cultivated it accordingly. He consults them, and in great measure is guided by their counsels. Although Herr Ballin is a Jew, the Emperor is on terms of close intimacy with him, while he was the open friend of the late Krupp, who has made Germany the leading arsenal of the world. And, when important financial questions are at issue, the influence of the great financiers makes itself felt not only upon the press, but upon the whole trend of German politics. Particularly is this the case as regards England and Russia. Most marked was this politico-financial pressure on the press in the case of the Russian loans, though the German people were,

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and are, diametrically opposed to the pro-Russian policy of their Government. It is not too much to say that German Imperialism, which from adverse circumstances owes its motive mechanism to State policy rather than to the natural result of individual enterprise, is only possible by reason of the great banking interest which is not only identical with, but is the basic incentive to, the Emperor's over-sea and colonial policy. England's Empire was built up by individual enterprise and economic provision, the flag following only when the work was completed. German Imperialism is being founded upon the flag and State finance for the purpose of attracting individual effort and enterprise in their wake. The distinction is great, and largely explains the suspicion with which Pan-German ambitions are viewed by the more satisfied nations of the earth.

For such as are not acquainted with the status of the various German newspapers a few explanatory words may be useful. The German Press may be classified as semi-official and financial; all the rest being practically but pale reflexes of the leading organs and without much influence or interest to the foreign political public. There is no "Times" in Germany, and no Book Club. But the semi-official press is quite as well informed on foreign affairs as any English newspaper, and though not so enterprising, is quite as instructive and quite as accurate.

Most important of these is the "North German Gazette," which is the official organ of the Foreign Office and speaks with Papal knowledge and infallibility. Its functions are mainly negative, and its most obvious purpose is to issue semi-official denials, to correct some German organ or other which has offended, and to give the tone generally to press and people. This it does in a sort of running commentary on events, and occasionally, but only occasionally, by means of a small leader which has the official imprimatur of authoritative utterance. Its editor is a Russian by birth, strongly pro-Russian in policy, formerly a leader-writer on the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten,*" where he was distinguished for his anti-English lucubrations and Pan-German proclivities. He has imparted elasticity to the paper; and, when things are "moving" in the great world of politics, he rattles off daily disclaimers, corrections, rebuffs and rebukes with ready proficiency and pertinacity. It is essential to read this organ. Though not a paper for the general public,

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though not a paper at all in the English or American sense of the word, it is the guiding power of official press utterance, and is the first newspaper the foreign correspondent reads on beginning work as possibly containing the most essential item of political intelligence.

The greatest newspaper in Germany still is the "*Koelnische Zeitung*," which is published at Köln, and is still the most expensive daily in the Fatherland. Its leaders resemble those of "The Times" in length, weight and form. On foreign affairs, its information is thoroughly sound and reliable, and, on occasion, it proves itself to be the best informed of any newspaper in the Empire. Prince von Bülow favors it, and its Berlin correspondent regularly punctuates German diplomatic action and is "used" for sounding the foreign press, issuing *démentis* and the like, and is a very important personage in the land. The journal is always worth reading, and it has an admirable correspondence from London and Paris, and many highly interesting articles on all sorts and conditions of men and topics. The student has to read it carefully. Its leaders are full of *entre-filets* requiring telegraphic attention, and it speaks for the nation from Berlin. Naturally, its field is Köln and the Rhenish provinces, but many people take it in all over the country, and of course all interested in foreign affairs study it. The point to note is that it has no independent opinion on foreign affairs, and its articles are important because they reflect the Foreign Office view and are intended for foreign consumption.

Another "well-informed" paper is the "*National Zeitung*" of Berlin, the leading organ of the National Liberals, who are really a rational Imperialist party. It represents the German national idea and interest, and under the direction of its Imperialist editor speaks with grave authority on all international questions. It arrogates to itself the rôle of monitor to its less "well-informed" contemporaries; it keeps in close touch with the Foreign Office, and is a very inspiring and inspired newspaper. Here, again, there is no independent judgment on foreign matters, no personal criticism, no individual line or attitude. It is a sensible, well-conducted newspaper, containing good articles, good criticism of art, literature and the stage, and is quite indispensable to the man on the spot whose business it is to study German public affairs.

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Then there is the "Post," the leading semi-official organ of the Conservative parties, strongly Imperial and Imperialist, reactionary, and also extremely "well informed" and conducted from "on high." Its articles on foreign policy are always interesting, generally flavored with some kind of inspiration, and not infrequently written by men who are actually "in the know." Especially in its Saturday and Sunday editions its knowledge is manifested. Some of these sapient reflections on foreign affairs emanate straight from the Foreign Office, even if they are not actually written there. Being the mouthpiece of the Junker aristocracy, and so of militarism, its leading contributors are often members of that "set," and on all occasions it voices the will of the Prussian Squirearchy, of pipe-clay Conservative interest and class prejudice, and is a fierce opponent of Social Democracy. It must be read. It is too conservative for Socialist Berlin, but it is *the* respectable organ of Conservatism, and its circulation is limited to the class which it represents. Of all German newspapers, perhaps it is the most consistently useful to the foreign observer of *Weltpolitik*.

Another useful and inspired paper is the "*Berliner Neueste Nachrichten*," which has great trade interests behind it and is strongly national in the pan-German sense. In degree of "inspiration" it varies from time to time. It is a widely read paper in Berlin, of the purely political type peculiar to German journalism. Its public is naturally the Conservative National Liberal one, financial and military people, and it is a strong advocate of the Emperor's naval policy.

Then there is the "Daily Mail" of Germany, the Berlin "*Lokal-Anzeiger*," which is a very up-to-date, go-ahead newspaper with an enormous circulation, and quite the most prosperous organ in the land. Originally, it was popular and reflected no political view whatever. But of recent years its power has attracted the powers that be, and it is, and has been for some time, an extremely "well-informed" news organ, often being in the position to publish political information of first-hand importance, and now consistently reflects the official opinion in matters of State concern. It is admirably conducted; and its political editors are in close touch with the Foreign Office. This organ is the only one in Germany which maintains a daily independent telegraphic service from foreign capitals, and is the organ *par*

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excellence of all who desire to know what is going on in other countries.

All the leading provincial dailies are more or less subject to inspiration. Thus organs such as the "*Hamburger Correspondent,*" the "*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten,*" the leading dailies in Dresden, Breslau, Leipzig, Hanover and other places are supplied from Berlin, and kept under the centralization of semi-official organization.

Of the great financial organs, the best is unquestionably the "*Frankfurter Zeitung,*" which is perhaps the best paper in Germany. It is subject to Jewish influence, and is read all over the country. On foreign affairs it follows the direction of the Foreign Office. Its Berlin correspondent is admirably posted on the intricacies of inner policy, and frequently his despatches reflect the opinion of the German Government. It is very careful not to wound Russian susceptibilities; for the good reason that the Tsar, who got to know it in his Darmstadt days, still takes it and reads it regularly. Thus, during the massacres of Jews in Russia, this Jewish organ saw no anomaly in publishing advanced pro-Russian leaders.

In Berlin, the great financial organs are the "*Berliner Tageblatt*" and the "*Boersen Courier,*" which are controlled by bankers and financial magnates, and profess Liberal tendencies. Of these two, the "*Tageblatt*" is the more important politically. It is a good paper with a big circulation, and it is the "safe thing" to read it, as it opposes Social Democracy. One sees officers glancing at it in cafés, and it is fond of assuming occult political information. In its leader it frequently assails the Government; it leans towards English constitutionalism, and is a force in the political world—eminently respectable and readable. Frequently, too, it is "well informed." Sometimes it breaks loose and bitterly attacks Governmental policy—but not for long; the next day, as likely as not, an article will appear of a conciliatory nature. Practically its influence, so far as foreign politics are concerned, is semi-official.

"Aunt Voss," or the "*Vossische Zeitung,*" of Berlin, is neither wholly political nor wholly independent. It is the accredited organ of Liberalism, with excellent art and literary criticisms, a wide public, and, with the "*Lokal-Anzeiger,*" possesses the largest advertisement institution in the country. The revival

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of Liberalism has imparted increased political lustre to its prestige. Sometimes it takes a strong independent line, advocating reforms, attacking existing institutions, and embarking on revolutionary crusades of all kinds. But it has the heart of a maiden aunt, and its imprecations frighten nobody; very often it is well informed, and as a general rule may be regarded as thoroughly acquainted with, even if it does not always follow, the views of the German Foreign Office.

Military Junkerism is represented by the "*Kreuz-Zeitung*," which is the organ of the military classes and of German aristocracy. It is often quite independent and attacks Government and parties alike with refreshing detachment. In this paper Professor Schiemann expatiates once a week upon foreign politics. He is a personal friend of Emperor and Chancellor, a Pan-German, and speaks with unique authority on foreign affairs. As a Russian, he naturally is pro-Russian and in consequence an Anglophobe. He journeys frequently to and fro between Berlin and St. Petersburg to sound, propound and expound. He knows far more than he says, and is one of those personages whose posthumous reminiscences *à la* Hohenlohe would be an interesting human and political document. The "*Kreuz-Zeitung*" is read by the military aristocracy all over Germany. It supports the *Kaiseridee*, or the belief in the divine right of Kings, the Imperial policy of over-sea expansion, and is the literary expression of Prussian reactionism.

The great Catholic organs are the "*Kölnische Volkszeitung*," published in Köln, and the "*Germania*," of Berlin; but of course in every Catholic city the party maintains its own journal. Both are subject to inspiration, but not consistently so, and they stand primarily and essentially for the single Catholic interest.

Then, too, there is the Socialist press, the leading organ of which, the "*Vorwärts*," is published in Berlin. The "*Vorwärts*" is a very well-written journal, purely partisan, always hostile to the Government and always interesting and instructive. It is never inspired. Any one wishing to follow German public affairs must read it, as it provides the most intelligent and exhaustive criticism of German politics and institutions, and is sometimes extraordinarily entertaining and witty.

A word must be said about the "*Zukunft*," Maximilian Harden's weekly, which is the German "Truth." Harden is a fanatic-

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al Bismarckian, a brilliant writer, critic and dialectician, and his organ is much appreciated by all sections of the community. The "*Grenzboten*" is another review which still maintains its Bismarckian reputation for political knowledge; and as such must be read by the student. The purely Pan-German organs, headed by the "*Alldeutsche Blätter,*" are useful, though wild and irresponsible; nor must the political influence of the German pamphlet system be left out of account—most Germans having written a pamphlet or so some time or other; nor the publications of the Navy League, and the tangle of so-called literature which invariably crops up on all important political questions.

This exhausts our summary. The point to note is that on foreign affairs the German press is invariably subject to official control, as is the official Telegraph News Agency, and that its object is purposely educational. To maintain that the German press has nothing to teach is not to understand it. It is the "best press" any Government can boast of; dull, and lacking in understanding of modern journalistic enterprise, but to the student the most instructive in all Europe.

AUSTIN HARRISON.

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RESULTS OF BRITISH NAVAL CONCENTRATION.

BY ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

THE full political significance of the reorganization of the British Navy, which has lately been completed, has not been realized. The map of the world is very infrequently studied by persons outside the Naval Intelligence Department in the great capitals for the purpose of seeing how naval power is distributed over the seas. Ships of war are continually being ordered from one station to another; and, if there were no newspapers to record the movements in international politics, any intelligent student of affairs, with an atlas before him, could form a fairly accurate impression of the trend of friendships and jealousies from the manner in which the respective naval Powers group their naval forces on the various great ocean highways. If the British redistribution scheme is examined by this method, it will be found that it supplies very gratifying evidence of the continued growth of cordial relations between the British Government and Japan, France, Italy and, notably, the United States of America.

Prior to the decision to reorganize the British sea-going forces, the Admiralty was maintaining an enormous preponderance of ships of war in the Mediterranean, was keeping two large groups of cruisers patrolling the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the American continent, and had in full commission in China waters no fewer than five battle-ships, eight cruisers and a similar number of sloops and gunboats, in addition to torpedo craft. At the same time, a small squadron of cruising vessels was stationed on the West Coast of Africa, a larger squadron was based upon Simonstown, Cape Colony, and there was a considerable array of strength in Australian waters, on the one hand, and in the East-Indian seas—not excluding the Persian Gulf—on the other.

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This wide distribution of naval power had been inherited, with practically little change, from the time of the Napoleonic wars and of the troubles between Great Britain and the United States, while in the Far East the accumulation of naval war material had been due to the action of Russia. When at last it occurred to some one, and if the truth must be told that some one was Admiral of the Fleet Sir John Fisher, to take an atlas and find out what justification existed for such a distribution of power, it was found that the time was overdue for a very considerable rearrangement.

The majority of the officers and men of the Fleet were engaged in cruising in vessels of slight fighting value in waters which were far removed from probable scenes of conflict. Great Britain was on the most cordial terms with all the Powers in the Mediterranean, and yet she still persisted in parading the Midland Sea with a fleet of huge proportions, including over a dozen battle-ships. In the Western Atlantic, nearly a dozen cruisers were continually under the orders of the Admiral in command of the historic North-American and West-Indian station, whose duty consisted in making peaceful but purposeless cruises, luxuriating in the invigorating climate to be enjoyed in Canadian waters in the summer months, and hibernating under genial and pleasant weather conditions in the West Indies during the colder months of the year. Then, on the other side of the American continent, yet another Admiral was busy making the best of life as it is led on the Pacific coast. Why, it was asked, is it necessary for Great Britain to keep a dozen battle-ships in the Mediterranean, where month after month is devoted to the pleasant interchange of friendly courtesies between Powers more or less completely bound together in the determination to preserve the *status quo* in this region of the world? What foe, it was also asked, are all the cruisers wandering about the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of America prepared to meet and defeat? In these waters it was realized that the only possible enemy was the United States. Had it not been an axiom in the political relations of the countries, it was further inquired, that war between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race was a hideous spectre which had been laid because it outraged the feelings of both countries? Moreover, if these friendly relations did not, as a matter of fact, exist between Great Britain and the United

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States, of what use, it was suggested, would the two squadrons of the Atlantic and Pacific, consisting entirely of vessels without armor belts, be against the massed squadrons of battle-ships flying the Stars and Stripes.

Again, when it came to an examination of the reasons which had led to the assignment of a large naval force to Far Eastern waters, it was immediately recognized that the whole naval position had been completely altered in consequence of the alliance formed by Great Britain with Japan. On the other hand, in consequence mainly of the progress of the German Fleet, the naval position of Great Britain in the English Channel and the North Sea was becoming year by year increasingly threatened. Owing to the large number of officers and men required for manning the battle-ships and cruisers in extra-European waters, where no trouble threatened, a large portion of the armored ships of the Empire, and almost all the torpedo craft, lay in the dock-yards without officers and without men. It had long been the custom to calculate, in a rough-and-ready way, the naval strength of Great Britain by the number of ships which she possessed, rather than by the number she could put to sea in an emergency, fully stored and with crews adequately trained in their war duties. At this date, every naval harbor in the United Kingdom was crowded with men-of-war, some so old as to have far exceeded the span of useful existence, and others so comparatively modern as to deserve a better fate than to lie month in and month out without an officer or seaman on board. With a naval personnel exceeding 131,000, the resources of the Admiralty were unequal to the task of even providing the best ships in reserve with reduced crews, and of the horde of torpedo craft only about a score were maintained in a condition of preparedness for action. Year by year, great additions had been made to the number of torpedo craft, and only a small section of this most important division of the Fleet was kept at anything approaching a condition of war readiness.

Success in naval war depends upon a delicate combination in peace time of human intelligence and skill with the best available war material. Ships in reserve which are hurried to sea in charge of strange deck officers and men, and of engineers and stokers who are unfamiliar with their mechanical equipment, must become merely horrible shambles when brought face to face

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with the foe adequately trained for war. The total expenditure on the Fleet at this time was approximately £40,000,000, and owing to the crowded state of all the Royal Dockyards demands had already been formulated for extensive naval works, in order to provide additional docks and fresh space for anchorage adequately defended by fixed defences. Then there was an inexorable need for newer and more efficient men-of-war; and, in consequence of the demands for officers and men for the large number of weak men-of-war patrolling the waters of friendly States, a further large augmentation of the personnel was inevitable. It appeared as though, in the then existing course of naval routine, Navy Estimates amounting to about £60,000,000 annually would be presented to Parliament at an early date, imposing upon the taxpayers of England an unparalleled burden. The situation was one calculated to arouse the gravest anxiety, particularly in view of the energetic measures adopted by Germany with a view to creating a great Fleet efficiently organized for war, and within three or four hundred miles of the eastern and least defended coasts of Great Britain.

In these circumstances, the scheme of British naval reform was considered and finally adopted. A little calculation showed that the officers and men who were required for placing the reserves of ships in a satisfactory condition were already in existence, locked up in the non-fighting ships spread out over extra-European waters which in the existing political situation could not become the scene of naval conflict. On the other hand, it was readily ascertained that the vast assembly of obsolete and obsolescent men-of-war which had congregated at the naval ports not only did not represent any reserve of strength, but, owing to complications which their existence introduced into the naval organization, were a distinct hindrance to any progress towards a more efficient marshalling of the British naval resources. In the then existing condition of the Fleet, ships at home and men abroad were deteriorating for want of reasonable and coordinated organization for war. Fighting-ships were moored in lifeless lines in the naval harbors, while the officers and men required to man them cruised up and down the coasts of friends and allies, carrying out a purposeless routine, not merely unconducive to war fitness, but distinctly tending towards naval decadence. The secret of war efficiency lies in concentration. Then and then only

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is a spirit of emulation excited. Only then is emulation in warlike drills aroused between ship and ship in the first degree, and between group and group of ships in the second degree. Under the scheme of distribution which dissipated the naval strength of Great Britain over all the world's seas, irrespective of the political circumstances of the hour, ships were cruising in an isolation far from splendid in its influence upon officers and men. British naval expenditure had reached a standard representing the maximum outlay for the minimum result.

Consequently, when it was finally decided to withdraw the naval squadrons in the North and South Atlantic and the squadron on the Pacific coast of America, and to recall and put on the scrap-heap a number of non-fighting ships which were sauntering up and down the coasts in other parts of the world, and at the same time to clear out the naval lumber which crowded the home ports, at one and the same time a policy of naval economy and war efficiency was initiated. It was instantly discovered that the plans for additional docks and anchorage could be torn up. The proposals for adding to the Navy a large additional number of officers and men could be abandoned. The estimates which had been prepared for repairs upon ships which could never do efficient service in war could be struck out. Several small dockyards in distant peaceful waters, which had hitherto been maintained on a war footing, could be reduced to cadres, and simultaneously a naval organization could be introduced representing a higher standard of war efficiency with a far lower standard of expense.

It is very much cheaper to maintain a ship near a home port than in foreign waters, and in no country is this advantage so great as in Great Britain, where the cost of living and the outlay upon coal, victuals and stores of all kinds is specially low. A vessel which is stationed within steaming distance of a British port is provided with coal, stores and victuals at first cost, and a very low first cost; whereas a man-of-war which is stationed in foreign waters has to be debited with the very heavy expenditure due to the outlay upon transport, while, in the case of perishable goods, contracts have frequently to be made in expensive markets. Another advantage attaching to withdrawal of ships from distant waters is that the pay of officers and men, instead of going into the pockets of foreign tradesmen and others, is spent among

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those who actually pay the taxes by which the Fleet is supported. The elimination of so many old ships in the home ports, ships which were tinkered from year to year and thus accounted for a considerable amount of labor, led to a large reduction in the number of dockyard hands. But this policy of economy was offset by the increased spending power of the Fleet in home waters, and thus experience has shown that never in time of peace have the British naval ports been in a condition of such abounding prosperity as now. The labor displaced found employment in other channels.

The scheme of redistribution of British naval strength involved some loss, more sentimental than actual. The North-American and North-Pacific Squadrons were withdrawn, and thus the naval supremacy of the United States was left absolutely uncontested, in recognition of the good faith of the American people, and as a tangible admission of Great Britain's hearty concurrence in the Monroe Doctrine. The United States has taken upon herself the *onus* of maintaining the *status quo* on the American continent; and, by withdrawing her naval squadrons, Great Britain tacitly affirmed her acceptance of this great central principle of American national policy. As a naval Power, the United States is bound by every incident in the history of the Republic to maintain her position as the supreme naval Power on the American coasts. The only vessels of the British Fleet in what may be regarded as American waters now comprise one little sloop on the Pacific coast, merely to show the flag, and three small cruisers based upon the West Indies, to carry out police duties and keep the natives in order. It is well, in the interests of the friendship of the two peoples, that the public should realize the significance of this change of naval policy.

In the Far East, an even more significant moral may be drawn from the reduction in the China Squadron. Time was when the British Fleet in Chinese and Japanese waters was as supreme as the British naval forces in the English Channel. The Royal ships in China waters acted as the protectors of white traders of whatever nationality, and was busy, month in and month out, in putting down piracy, not only on the high seas, but up the rivers of the Celestial Empire. As the grasp of Russia upon China increased during the nineties and the early years of the present century, so Great Britain, with a firm determination to

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maintain her position, repeatedly strengthened the local squadron. The growth of the Navy of Japan vitally affected the situation; and, when the Government at Tokio indicated its resolve to preserve, if need be by force of arms, the integrity of China and the nominal independence of Korea, and thus secure the future of the Japanese Empire itself, Great Britain willingly struck a bargain and agreed to keep the ring, while Japan freed China and Korea and herself from the alien domination which was slowly being imposed upon these countries. Until the struggle was over, the China Squadron of Great Britain was maintained at full strength, but as soon as the last remnant of Rusian naval power had been broken in the Sea of Japan, the British battle-ships were ordered to return to Europe, and the squadron was reduced to a strength of four armored cruisers, two protected cruisers, and a number of small craft for river work, together with half a dozen destroyers. From a fighting fleet it was transformed into a fleet primarily intended to carry out police duties in view of the importance of British commercial undertakings in the Far East, and in the last resort to cooperate with the Japanese Navy in defence of common interests. By this action, the British Government virtually gave its adherence to a Japanese political principle in the Far East equivalent to the Monroe Doctrine of the United States.

Force of circumstances has compelled the British authorities to admit that British naval power can no longer be world-wide, as in the days when Great Britain held absolute supremacy in commerce. Competition in naval armaments in local waters, with the United States on the one hand and with Japan on the other, was admitted to be not only hopeless, but unnecessary, and even dangerous to the mutual interests of these countries. It was argued that both these Powers had given their cordial adherence to the principles of political and commercial liberty in support of which British naval forces in the Far West and in the Far East had been employed. The Republic of the Far West and the monarchy of the Far East had risen to a sense of their responsibilities in their own immediately adjacent waters, and in perfect reliance on the good faith of the two nations Great Britain handed over to them naval sway in the Atlantic and South Pacific. To-day there are two Monroe Doctrines; in the Far West the United States stands guardian, and in the Far East

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Japan, for her own preservation, and, as events will show shortly, with the consent of all the Powers of the world, is taking upon herself a similar responsibility.

The new scheme of British naval distribution has been criticised. It has been suggested that the British flag is not shown in sufficient strength in extra-European waters; but the real fact is that the British flag, as a commercial asset of admitted value, has never stood higher than to-day. It is true that a number of small, slow, non-fighting vessels are no longer creeping up distant coasts with the Union Jack at the main, sauntering into this port and into that. But, on the other hand, the withdrawal of these small and unimportant craft has furnished the British authorities with officers and men to man squadrons of large, powerful and imposing cruisers, which are frequently engaged in ceremonial voyages to distant parts of the world. Never before in the history of the British Fleet has the Union Jack been seen more frequently or supported with more dignity than during the past two years, when Prince Louis of Battenberg, Sir Alfred Paget and Rear-Admiral George Neville have successfully paid visits to Canadian, United States and South-American ports, apart from the frequent presence of Rear-Admiral F. S. Ingle-field's squadron of large cruisers which spend the autumn and spring months in the temperate climate of the West Indies, with contingents of boys completing their training for naval service.

The effect of these changes upon the efficiency of the British naval organization for war has been remarkable. It was immediately possible to fit out another sea-going fleet, manned and armed for any eventuality, and gradually yet another fleet has been called into existence with attendant cruisers and auxiliaries, and all the torpedo craft of the British service have been manned in exact proportion to the haste with which they will be required on a sudden outbreak of war. In 1904, there were only sixteen battle-ships in British waters, together with eight armored cruisers, six protected cruisers, twenty-four destroyers and a few torpedo-boats. All the remainder of the ships of the British Fleet, nominally in reserve, lay idle in the dockyards and harbors, unmanned and with hardly a semblance of organization for war. The British naval machine has now been tuned up to a higher standard of war efficiency. The task is not yet complete, but the fruits of the bold scheme initiated by the Admiralty less than

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three years ago are already apparent in the imposing naval forces organized in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean. Ten armored ships—six battle-ships and four armored cruisers—together with four small cruisers and twelve destroyers, keep watch and ward in the Mediterranean; and, apart from the routine of naval training, they are occupied chiefly in further cementing the friendly relations which exist between Great Britain and the Mediterranean Powers. Fully manned, constantly cruising, and being maintained month in and month out at war strength, Great Britain has now massed in home waters three great fighting fleets, the Channel, Atlantic and Home Fleets. The innovation in this organization is the Home Fleet under Vice-Admiral F. C. B. Bridgeman and five Rear-Admirals, which is divided into three divisions, one based on the Medway, at the mouth of the River Thames and therefore overlooking the North Sea; another on Portsmouth, the most easterly British war port in the English Channel, and another on Devonport, which is further west. In the existing political situation, and particularly in view of the *entente cordiale* with France, the burden of naval responsibility has shifted from the English Channel to the North Sea; and, consequently, the head and front of the Home Fleet is stationed at the Nore. It consists of six battle-ships, including the "Dreadnought," and six armored cruisers forming the Fifth Cruiser Squadron. It is intended that eventually this latter force shall consist of swift ships of the new battle-ship-cruiser type, with an advantage of six knots in speed over the swiftest German battle-ship, and a considerable superiority of gun-fire at modern ranges. Half the battle-ships of the German Fleet carry nothing better or more powerful than an obsolescent 9.4-inch gun; while the main armament of the British battle-ships at the Nore is the serviceable 12-inch gun, and eventually each of the cruisers will carry six 9.2-inch guns of a new and particularly powerful type. Associated with this force at the Nore are five small cruisers and a large number of auxiliary ships, besides forty-eight of the most recent torpedo-boat destroyers and a flotilla of submarines.

If this were a complete picture of the advantage gained by the scheme of redistribution, it would more than compensate for the disadvantages upon which some criticism has been centred. As a matter of fact, however, these fully manned battle-ships, cruis-

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ers and torpedo craft based upon the Nore and continually cruising in the North Sea, are merely the ever-ready section of the new Home Fleet formed as a result of the scheme of naval reorganization. Behind this imposing naval force are the Portsmouth and Devonport divisions. These two other sections of the Home Fleet consist of ships which, under the old régime, would have been in the dockyards and harbors without officers or men. Now they are part and parcel of the fighting Fleet. Each vessel has its captain, chief executive officer, torpedo, gunnery and navigating lieutenants, and all the essential skilled ratings upon which the fighting efficiency depends. Each vessel has approximately three-fifths of its full complement, and the remaining two-fifths are available at short notice without calling out a single man of the reserves. These ships can be brought from a nucleus state up to war strength and sent to sea at a few hours' notice. In the case of the torpedo craft at these two ports, the delay would not amount to more than four hours, as has been shown by experimental mobilization.

Under the old scheme, the British Fleet could not be mobilized without a Royal proclamation calling out all the reserve forces. During strained relations, such procedure would have inevitably tended to precipitate war. Under the new scheme, the whole of the Home Fleet can be despatched to sea fully manned, victualled and stored, without recourse to any such dramatic and dangerous machinery. Periodically, the Devonport and Portsmouth divisions with their nucleus crews proceed to sea for a week or ten days, during which they carry out the ordinary drills and, in particular, attention is devoted to gunnery. This is a remarkable development from the state of affairs when the reserve ships lay deserted and inert. These two divisions comprise seven battle-ships and over twenty-five cruisers, besides upwards of sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, thirty-six torpedo-boats and the reserve section of the submarines which have been recently added to the British Fleet. Yet another section of the Fleet comprises what are termed "special-service vessels." These are obsolescent ships, which have merely care and maintenance parties on board to keep them in condition to be brought forward for service in an emergency; they are England's forlorn hope. This plan of reorganization has been carried out without denuding harbor ships of their crews or interfering with the

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classes under training at the various instructional establishments, such as those devoted to gunnery, torpedo, signalling and navigation, the last-named being an innovation. Moreover, it has been accompanied by a notable increase in the general efficiency of the naval personnel, due, no doubt, in large measure to the spirit of emulation which is always engendered when large masses of ships are collected for the purpose of naval training.

The net outcome of the scheme of naval distribution, apart from its political aspects, to which attention has already been called, is that the striking-power of the British Fleet has been at least doubled. In the opinion of the late Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour, this is a very moderate estimate of the accession of strength due to the provision of nucleus crews. Great Britain now has in full commission in the English Channel, the North Sea and the Mediterranean thirty-two battle-ships, eighteen armored cruisers, fifteen protected cruisers and sixty torpedo-boat destroyers, apart from the nucleus crew ships. This total includes the Nore Division of the Home Fleet, the naval forces massed under the orders of Admiral Lord Charles Beresford and forming the Channel Fleet and First Cruiser Squadron, the Atlantic Fleet and Second Cruiser Squadron, under Vice-Admiral the Hon. Sir A. G. Curzon-Howe, based upon Berehaven and Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Fleet with the Third Cruiser Squadron under Admiral Sir Charles Drury. Each of the two last-named officers has at his command ten armored ships, six in each case being modern battle-ships.

This naval organization is the direct result of the scheme of redistribution; and it has been effected with an economy in the Navy Estimates amounting to six millions sterling a year. Great Britain is the only naval Power which has reduced its naval commitments in recent years, and the saving has been accompanied by an immense increase in strength in the adjacent seas, which are the fulcrum of European political development.

ARCHIBALD S. HURD.

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THE NEW WESTERNER.

BY CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

I.

THE story of the material development of the West has been an instructive serial with constantly increasing interest in its chapters. Not all the incidents making up the marvellous narrative have been pleasant ones—anti-climaxes have mingled with inspiring situations; but each has had its part in bringing out of vast sodded plains and wealth-lined hills an empire of rich farms, prosperous towns and thriving cities. Through it all has run the tale of frontier struggle against nature, conquest of the desert, adaptation of methods to new conditions and comparative triumph over climatic surprises and engineering difficulties.

In acres, bushels and dollars has been expressed with exuberant liberality the measure of the West's success, generally disregarding the moulding influence of thirty years or more of trial upon the people themselves.

A third of a century, broadly speaking, has gone into making the Westerner of to-day, and it has evolved a type differing much from that of the beginning, and often corresponding little in its chief characteristics with the popular conception distant communities have formed of it.

The settlers of early days were dreamers. Whether they sought the West to found homes on newly broken sod, or were to join the army of traders and storekeepers brought into service by the increasing population, they had one hope in common: to make a fortune in a short time, then return to the old home "back East" and live in comfort ever after. They were animated by the same spirit as were the Argonauts who toiled toward the gold-fields of '49. Veterans of the Civil War, disappointed in

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business when the conflict ended, looked upon the virgin lands as offering opportunity for conquest, but it took hard fighting to bring victory out of the bare soil. The speculators and country merchants met with reverses as often as did the farmer. Both classes remained in the West: each made discoveries, and in the end each attained to success—but the soldier reared his family where he took his claim, and the business man saw years slip away before he enjoyed even a short trip to the old home.

The Texas cattle trail, opened from the Gulf into central Kansas in 1867 to meet the first railway across the plains, formed a north and south highway that led Southerners into the fertile lands. Three million cattle were driven over the trail in 1870-71, and with them journeyed representatives of a vast Southwest industry. As the railway pushed on to the mountains and branch lines reached down into the Staked Plains, the movement of cattle on the hoof ceased, but that of men did not, and Cavalier mingled with Puritan in the development of the great granary of the nation.

The sturdy immigration from Europe, Scandinavians from the north and Germans from farther south, with tens of thousands of English, Irish and Canadians in every commonwealth made up the cosmopolitan population which was to unite in the task of conquering the desert. The lesson has been learned through tribulation, and its mastery has fused the varying elements into the modern type which is practically a new generation.

The dwellers in the somewhat indefinite area which we term the "Middle West," extending from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and excluding the States bordering on the Gulf, are essentially a farming people. Of 3,352,000 engaged in gainful pursuits, according to the recent census, 1,713,000 are devoting their attention to agriculture. The hardship inseparable from opening new crop areas attended their early trials. Remote from neighbors, lacking in implements, harassed by debts when crops failed, and with insufficient knowledge of climatic conditions, they spent the first years of pioneer life in a somewhat serious pursuit of happiness.

As the big ranches have been broken up and the size of farms decreased, the solitude of the homestead has vanished, and there have entered into the life of the prairie-dweller many elements of contentment, driving out the old-time longing for the child-

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hood home, even if it be not forgotten. The older generation, the one that has put in long years of middle life on the plains, never will forget.

"I see by the paper," remarked a grandfather two hundred miles west of the Missouri River, as he read a village journal published in a little western New York town, "I see that they are having lots of snow down home." Down home! It has not been his home for a quarter of a century, yet the old associations held fast, and unconsciously he deemed himself a sojourner in a strange land. Tens of thousands of those village papers fluttering each week in the prairie dwellings keep alive the sentiment of youth for the native abiding-place, the East.

The new generation, as well as the one that came West in childhood, now grown to manhood's and womanhood's estate, knows nothing of this. To such the West is home. Western ways and Western ideas are inbred—the wind-swept farm, with its struggling cottonwood grove, is as dear as ever was to the parents some New England cottage, with giant elms and rustling beeches overshadowing its moss-grown roof.

Perhaps the most lasting influence in the making of a Westerner was the poverty of early days. For there was poverty, with its accompanying trials, in most families. It did not always show on the surface, but, hidden beneath the couponed mortgage note and revealed, when crops were scant, by the overdue store accounts, it existed in positive form. Talk with most old settlers and they will tell you frankly of this.

"We would have been on our feet," commented a now prosperous stockman, "if the wind hadn't turned to the north one June day in '79. We had two hundred acres of wheat on the bottoms, and it was ripe for harvest. Grain was worth almost a dollar a bushel, and it was good for thirty bushels to the acre. On the afternoon before we were to start the harvesters, a hailstorm came out of the northwest and went down the valley. In two hours the wheat, instead of standing as high as my head, was levelled to six inches. We did not gather a bushel. Of course, the mortgage was foreclosed and we began over again."

Then there were dry years, before the farmers learned that some crops will do nearly as well in drouth as in moisture. It was no modest test of courage to see the corn wither and the grass burn beneath the hot winds of July, knowing that upon

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the result of the summer's growth depended the retention of title in the land. Little wonder that discouraged men and disheartened women, mistaking the cause of their disaster, rebelled against political affairs and howled for the destruction of the "Money Power"! It was merely the savage protest of the primitive nature which sought from the object nearest at hand redress for suffering.

Out of those years came the class of "movers," dwellers in "prairie-schooners," who roamed aimlessly here and there as opportunity seemed to offer improvement, and finally, as a pistol-shot gave the signal, made one tremendous rush across the border of Oklahoma and halted on Indian reservations to essay again the settler's task of home-building.

The turn of the tide, the beginning of the change that was to influence so greatly the nervous, quick-tempered and sensitive Westerner, came in 1897. Six years of indifferent crops—not failures, but such uncertainty as made it difficult to meet the large obligations incurred in the boom days earlier—had succeeded 1890, the year of awakening from the West's dream of sudden empire. In that time a quarter of a million people moved out of western Nebraska and Kansas. The population of most prairie States decreased, and into prominence came the class of political leaders whose advice was to raise less corn and more of the unmentionable region. Yet through it all ran an enforced economy, a rigid balancing of resources and outlay, a planning for the future and a determined effort to get rid of the incubus of debt afflicting the West.

This process so manifestly strengthened the finances of the dwellers on level lands that they were attaining to a semblance of independence, even had there come no marked change in crop production. They had overcome the boom spirit, had moved the surplus houses from the town "additions" to the country, had learned some lessons in the rotation of crops and were raising alfalfa, kaffir corn and sorghum to assure themselves of "roughness" should a winter come with a short supply of maize. But radical politics yet held sway; there was a disposition to harass the railroads with stringent regulations; the Westerner was still at odds with investment interests and was half convinced that he was being abused by Wall Street.

In the mining regions and on the great ranches the conditions

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had become encouraging. The Cripple Creek gold-fields had given Colorado an impetus toward prosperity, increased by the advance of irrigation on the foot-hills. Cattle prices were reviving in the ranch country, and the stock industry was just about beginning the boom that was to make—and break—dealers two or three years later.

The West was prepared for a business revival that should not only benefit the bank accounts of its people, but have a lasting effect on the trend of their social and mental life.

II.

The material welfare that has come out of the eight years of abundance is easily outlined. It is expressed in a catalogue of cancelled mortgages, new dwellings, refunded bonds, swollen bank deposits and improved belongings. The prairie farmer, with his free rural delivery route, his rural telephone, his rubber-tired top buggy and attitude of independence, has become a familiar figure in current literature. He is interesting and worthy of study. He is not, perhaps, quite so luxurious and plutocratic an individual as he is often pictured, but he occupies a very comfortable place in the economic world.

The influence that has come from this betterment of the Westerner's condition has been manifested in a modified and broadened outlook on life. In some sections the transformation has been marvellous. For instance, in Oklahoma City, where seventeen years ago not a white man had foothold, a population of 30,000 now possesses every modern appliance for ease and comfort. Electric cars traverse the streets over more than 30 miles of track, and groups of Indians, lazily watching the innovation from merchants' doorways, make vivid contrast between the old and the new civilizations. Interurban trolley lines will be in operation a hundred miles west of the Missouri before the end of the current year. Life's enjoyable features which have been monopolized by the East for a decade are moving across the country, as processes of manufacture are cheapened and the ability of new communities to obtain them is met by lessened expense.

The Western States boast a great deal about their bank deposits. It is true that a single bank of New York City has as much money in its coffers as do all those of Kansas, for in-

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stance—but, in the latter case, the savings are not trust funds or speculators' accounts; they are those of tens of thousands of hard-working citizens and represent long days of toil beneath burning sun. The ownership of the farmers' comparatively plethoric bank books have had a liberalizing effect. The fateful things promised during the days of financial darkness have been forgotten. The capitalist, while perhaps not considered a comrade, is looked upon as having rights—an attitude once unknown. There is no more talk of electing judges who will refuse to order mortgages foreclosed. For one thing, there are few mortgages to foreclose; and, for another, the Westerner is in favor of enforcing the law to the utmost, since the local loan fund is a staple source of investments in these latter days.

Likewise, it tends to conservatism. The man who seeks bonds for the promotion of a scheme must make a strong argument or fail. The towns look warily on industries that need a bonus. The demand for independence has spread to the minor factors of development, and has caused a more manly position for every community. No antagonism to the East is mingled with this; the West is not so vain as to think it can live by itself alone; it merely stands sturdily with a smile on its face, confident that it ranks as an equal in the development and growth of a great nation.

The Westerner of to-day is a seeker after education. The schools of the West are of exceptional merit. They are for the most part managed by young men; vigor is seen in every movement. The salaries are small, and often the better educators are tempted by much-endowed institutions to seek other fields, but their places are taken by the product of the plains, usually broadened in its view by a touch of post-graduate work in some Eastern university. In the early days, colleges were as much a part of the boom town's equipment as a carriage-works or a sugar-mill—and about as much fitted for the place. Many of the boom colleges have passed away. Consolidation has lessened the numbers of the remainder, and the schools of the West are becoming proportioned to the actual needs of the people. The students in them are workers. In the State University of Kansas, 47 per cent. of the students are paying their own way, earning the money for their own education. In Nebraska, the proportion is about the same, and, even as far east as Missouri, 30 per cent. are earning

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all the money for their schooling, and half are partly paying their own expenses.

Out of such experience come manliness, courage, ability. The first generation of Western students has entered into the life of the plains as men and women, and their influence has of itself given to the communities in which they reside a higher ambition. Public libraries are common; women's clubs are everywhere, even out to the "short-grass country" near the foot-hills of the Rockies; lecture courses and classic plays are appreciated. The new Westerner is a well-informed and thinking person. He reads and studies as much as does his Eastern brother or sister, within the limits of his leisure hours. It has broadened his views and brought a contentment into the one-time dreary existence of the frontier.

This sentiment is reflected in the Western newspapers, good indices of the communities in which they are published. Seldom does one find an "Arizona Kicker" in Western journalism. The early-day editors, who delighted in wars of epithet and abuse with their "esteemed but loathed contemporary," have nearly passed away. The few remaining have been softened by the influence of the times. The new generation, grown up in the West and in sympathy with Western conditions, is "moulding public opinion." The prevalence of sanity and good-will, together with intelligent comment on affairs of the day, is noticeable. The average Western paper in a small village is better than its counterpart in an Eastern town of similar size. This may be explained on the ground that it has a wider field and is less harassed by the proximity of cities. Its influence spreads far and its editor is rarely a "fire-eater."

All these conditions bear fruit in the social life of the West. In early days, there was little social distinction. Every man's history "began with the day before yesterday, and no questions asked." The parties were free-for-all, and the balls open to the public. That condition exists to some extent in the remote forefront of the wave of immigration, but for the most part its day has gone. The clannish spirit is not prominent, but division lines are drawn, and the natural differences of temperament are seen in the function of the times. The towns are naturally most progressive in this, though in the country districts the spread of advanced ideas has been rapid.

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Homeseekers' excursions bring thousands of Easterners to the West, but "old home week" and the various national gatherings, offering low railroad rates, take other thousands to the former home "back East," to revisit the scenes of childhood. Such visits do much good. There is a return to the West with new ideas, with better sense of the greatness of the country, with a clearer perspective and a larger liberality. In the days when the West was too poor for these journeys, it harbored exaggerated ideas of the possessions of the East. Now it knows that the East is little to be envied—that there is about as much happiness on the prairies as on the boulevards. It has taken back plans for colonial porches and mission furniture, and has learned some things about town-building.

One of these is the advantage of manufactures. All over the West are springing up small manufacturing plants that have for their object the utilization of raw material, or the supplying of a demand that is confined largely to the plains country. Cotton-mills in the Southwest, harvesting-machinery makers in the wheat belt, brick, tile and cement in the oil and gas region—the West is living up to its opportunities.

Thus, on his intellectual and constructive sides the Westerner has had a period of upbuilding and of development. It would be, indeed, remarkable if it had not brought to him a more perfect understanding of the possibilities that are his. The opening of a new empire in the Orient, with its enhancement of Pacific coast trade, has opened to him an outlet for his overflowing products never before dreamed of; the Gulf traffic has taken one-third of his exports to Europe—little wonder that he feels himself a central figure of the nation, equal in standing to any, or that he looks to future years of greater power.

III.

The first generation of Westerners was stern-faced and anxious, with small capital but sturdy faith. That goodly company has passed away. Another is on the stage—the West, that vast granary with indefinite boundaries and with overflowing hopes, has reached a new period of its development.

The pioneer was the beginner. His stout arm guided the plough across level leagues of greening sod; his earnest heart withstood the privations of early years. He was a hero in his generation,

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a conqueror of greater things than the kings of old, a forerunner of the incoming of the plain's riper fruitage. Nothing is better established in the study of mankind than that we are influenced by our environment. The Western people reflect the conditions among which they are placed. Upon the plains have mingled the descendant of the Quaker and the offspring of the European; the emigrant from Atlantic slopes and the wide-hatted native of the Gulf borders. To all have come the same training of vigorous strife, the sharpened wits of frontier rivalry, the sympathy of equally modest beginnings. It would be strange if out of the years of stress there came not a character fitting the freedom, the energy, the enthusiasm of the great West. Perhaps the busy years have robbed them of some of that well-balanced ambition for culture which should go hand in hand with the acquisition of wealth; perhaps the insistent restlessness that seems a part of the very air of the plains has restrained the true home-making art of the American; but the foundation has been laid, and already Western communities are giving more thought to the needs of mind and soul.

Is it not fair to expect that the new Westerner, with less anxiety concerning business success, will be more generous in his social, artistic and educational development, rounding out his life more fully with the fair embellishments of culture, and thus reflecting greater honor on himself and on his rich domain?

Is it not fair to anticipate a new type of American; the outgrowth of the lessons learned, of the experiments tried, of the wisdom sought, of the promise and assurance of to-day? In him shall mingle the frugality of the East and the good old-fashioned courtesy of the South. He will prize his possessions most for what they give in the refinement of character; he will cherish success for what it yields in wider opportunity for good. In the stretching areas of sod he will see, with the poet of the Sierras,

> "Room, room to turn round in,
> To breathe and be free."

The Westerner has emerged from the experimental period of his history. That there will come again lean years and days of discouragement, none can doubt; the skies will not glow forever with promise. But the manner in which the man of the New West meets reverses will mean much. Schooled in the variations

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of the seasons, he will not stake all his fortune on one crop or one product. He will encounter drouth complacently, as becomes one who knows crops that thrive nearly as well in dry weather as in wet; he will greet the furnacelike south winds contentedly, as he looks at whirring windmills lifting moisture from the earth's bosom for herds and gardens; he will try no more to build a metropolis at every cross-roads. He will admit that the prairie is not omnipotent. The watchword of the new time is "Stability." After four decades of trial, he has pinned faith to those things that make for permanence; he conserves the wealth the plains possess, rather than seeks for that which is not there.

The New York banker may have some alarm about finance and may spend anxious hours over the stock fluctuations—but the Western farmer jogs along the country road between towering walls of corn and in sight of golden stacks of wheat, his wagon filled with gleaming cans of cream, unconscious of it all. When he depended on one crop alone, he had fits of depression and proceeded to express himself in weird kinds of politics; now, while the grass grows and the sun shines, his prosperity is assured. He is making haste to seek other channels of development—he can exert his superabundant energies in making the West rich in the adornments of all that art and life can give—as it already is in every-day necessities of existence.

The new Westerner is as proud of the plains as were the pioneers; as valiant in their defence; as eager in their eulogy—but he exaggerates less and qualifies more. The West is being pictured as it is, and in dealing thus in candor and frankness its children are establishing their fortunes on surer foundations.

The Western farmer used to think men with wealth did nothing but live at ease, and he howled for the destruction of the money power. Now he has money of his own, and finds that he has to work as hard to take care of it as he did to earn it. He appreciates the obligations of being a capitalist and is cautious about tinkering with the currency.

They say the wheat belt has moved westward. That is not it. The land has moved eastward. It has come under the influence of moister skies, or, what is the same thing, new methods of agriculture have conquered the desert—and there is no frontier.

The pioneer of the plains is a reminiscence. His white-hooded prairie-schooner is little more than a dream.

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"Unused, forlorn and gray it stands,
A faded wreck cast far ashore;
The Mayflower of the prairie lands—
Its journey o'er."

The boomers and the promoters have had their day. They operated on wind, but there is another circulating medium now. Some have reformed; others have gone—some to their long rest, some to Mexico and some to Canada.

The new Westerner is another type—the clear-headed, stout-hearted, frank-faced man of the plains; the product of years of trial, of experiment, of triumph. He trusts not in luck, but in sense and system and preparation; he builds not for a day, but for decades; he is manifest on the distant reaches of the "short-grass country"; he is the rustler of the prairie village; he walks the pavements of progressive cities; he believes in colleges as well as in corner lots; he asks sanity and high ideals in the plans for the growth of the West.

Tanned by the prairie winds, warmed by the glowing sunshine of the level lands, standing where meet the trade currents of North and South, with command over both, the New Westerner has in his grasp a glorious destiny, and he seems capable of living up to its possibilities.

CHARLES MOREAU HARGER.

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THE PRESIDENT'S POLICIES.

BY GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, during his six years in the White House, has propounded several broad and distinct economic propositions, one of them, at least, being essentially new. These propositions, taken together, form that political creed popularly referred to as "the President's Policies," although Mr. Roosevelt is convinced that they have been accepted by a large majority of Republicans, and that they constitute the political issues for which the Republican party stands. Certain conservative leaders in the party describe Mr. Roosevelt's policies as ultra-radical. Those who have followed his leadership in their economic reasoning regard them as reasonable, judicious and progressive. Whether Mr. Roosevelt has succeeded in inscribing these policies indelibly on the Republican escutcheon, or whether they will pass away with his administration, his party returning to the tenets of the conservative faction which has hitherto been synonymous with Republicanism, constitutes the chief issue in that epoch-making campaign which is already inaugurated, and which will not end until the adjournment of the Republican National Convention, next June, if it ends then.

Briefly stated, Theodore Roosevelt's policies consist of the exercise of the right of Federal control over interstate commerce to remedy or eradicate those economic evils with which he believes the States are unable to cope, and the exercise of the taxing power of the National Government to prune what he has described as "swollen fortunes," and in a measure to equalize those inequalities in the distribution of wealth which, he believes, have resulted from entrusting to the several States a task which they are unable to perform.

In fearless devotion to his honest convictions, the President has

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given utterance to his belief that the Federal Government must supervise the workings of practically all corporations engaged in commerce between the States and with foreign nations. In his last annual message, he declared that "in some method, whether by a national license law or in some other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations . . . a control that will among other things prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations." An examination of Mr. Roosevelt's public utterances reveals a gradual development of this idea extending back over many years.

An opportunist, as well as an economist and a politician, Mr. Roosevelt has not wasted his time in vain promulgation of a theory for which the people were not prepared; but he has lost no opportunity of guiding his party toward that well-defined goal which he regards as essential to the public welfare, and under his skilful leadership giant strides have been taken toward an end which, had they perceived it as clearly as did their leader, would probably have driven the legislative leaders of the party in quite the opposite direction.

He seized upon the uncovering of pernicious railway methods and the resentment which popular knowledge of these evils enkindled to secure the enactment of the Railway Rate law, whereby a commission of the National Government is authorized to declare what shall constitute a just and reasonable rate for transportation, and to compel the carriers of the country to respect its decisions. Beginning with his annual message of 1904, he undertook the education of the Congress to the necessity of such legislation; and, finding his progress slow, he availed himself of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches made before Congress met in the following year, to educate public sentiment to a point where its almost omnipotent force would compel the national legislature to carry his recommendations into effect.

The Railway Rate law was not, however, the only long stride toward Federal supervision of all corporations doing an interstate business taken under the leadership of Mr. Roosevelt. That law hardly goes as far, for instance, as the Meat-Inspection act.

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The clever and ingenious methods which the President employed to create and foster a public sentiment which would compel Congress to enact that measure, including the publication of the sensational report of his special investigation of the packing industry, are well remembered; but the extent of Government control and supervision authorized by the law, which confers on Federal inspectors the right of access at any hour of day or night to every part of the establishment of any packer who seeks to send his product across a State line or the national boundary and which positively prohibits common carriers from transporting any packing-house product which does not bear evidence of Government inspection, has been generally lost sight of in the widely felt relief that there can no longer exist the appalling evils which the law was framed to remedy.

The National Food and Drug act, identical in spirit with the Meat-Inspection law, and differing from it only in the methods employed to accomplish its purpose, constitutes still another long stride in the direction of Federal control, and goes far to bridge the chasm between the unrestricted operations of corporations created by the States and that Federal supervision which Mr. Roosevelt regards as essential to the success of his party and the welfare of the nation. Taken together, these laws have put into effect national supervision and control of a vast number of industrial operations, including all common carriers, the meat, drug, grocery, canning, liquor and numerous kindred industries. And, radical as have been these legislative measures, for the enactment of which Mr. Roosevelt is almost solely responsible, the dire results predicted by those engaged in the interested industries have entirely failed to materialize, and no one of them has served even to check the steady progress of that general prosperity for which the Republican party claims, and is generally accorded, credit.

It may be objected that the recent depreciation of certain railway securities disproves, at least in part, the assertion that the legislative enactments for which Mr. Roosevelt is responsible have promoted rather than decreased the prosperity of every industry affected, and certain prominent railway managers have recently complained to the President that, as a result of his policies, the public has lost confidence in their securities, and that they find themselves unable to raise the capital needed to

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make those improvements of trackage and equipment which are necessary to meet the demands of a steadily increasing commerce. To all who have made this complaint, Mr. Roosevelt has replied by asking if certain stock transactions, recently brought to light by the Interstate Commerce Commission, have not been the real occasion of the loss of public confidence, and if Federal supervision of stock and bond issues would not give to railway securities a stability which would insure their ready sale at a reasonable figure. He has also pointed to his last annual message, in which he described overcapitalization as perhaps the "chief" railway abuse, as "generally the result of dishonest promotion," and said of it: "Such overcapitalization often means an inflation which invites business panic; it always conceals the true relation of the profit earned to the capital actually invested, and it creates a burden of interest payments which is a fertile cause of improper reduction or limitation of wages; it damages the small investor, discourages thrift, and encourages gambling and speculation."

In his next annual message Mr. Roosevelt expects to deal with this question at great length, as he purposes to make it one of the chief issues of the next session of Congress, while it is entirely likely that between now and next December he will avail himself of some of the opportunities afforded by his public speeches to impress upon the people the advantages to be derived from such legislation, and thus to secure to the representatives of the people such encouragement as may be necessary to offset the warnings and protests of those who regard all change as a menace to their interests.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that all combinations, even though they may be in restraint of trade, are not necessarily evil. He has advised Congress that "the power vested in the Government to put a stop to agreements to the detriment of the public should, in my judgment, be accompanied by power to permit, under specified conditions and careful supervision, agreements clearly in the interest of the public." And, while he may not specifically recommend an enactment authorizing traffic agreements, commonly called "pools," he would doubtless approve such a law if the railways should see their way clear to give their cordial support to his policy of Government control of stock and bond issues.

On April 14th, 1906, the President publicly expressed his con-

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viction that "we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes." This idea he has gradually developed until the imposition of an income tax and of a graduated inheritance tax by the National Government has come to constitute one of his most important public policies. A discussion of these forms of taxation, coupled with an earnest recommendation of legislative action, will constitute one of the striking and forceful features of the President's next annual message.

No feature of the President's policies is more widely misunderstood than his attitude on the tariff. He has long believed that the time has arrived when revision of the Dingley tariff act is advisable. True, there have been evils which he has regarded as of paramount importance—as, for instance, the granting of railway rebates, overcapitalization, etc.; but on a number of occasions he has summoned the leaders of his party and sought to impress on them the advisability of tariff readjustment, only to learn that the determined opposition of Speaker Cannon and his associates in the House constituted an insuperable obstacle. On one occasion, in his annual message of 1904, he went so far as to give notice of a special message in which he would urge tariff revision. He wrote, "On the subject of the tariff I will address you later." But the earnest representations of the leaders of his party that tariff revision would be impossible at a short session and that notice given so far in advance of a special session to be called for this purpose would seriously unsettle business led him to order the line quoted to be stricken from the message after the advance copies had been furnished to the press. In January, 1905, he secured the assent of the Senate leaders, not excluding Senator Aldrich, who has long been known as "the high-priest of protection," to a special session for tariff revision to be called soon after March 4th; but the continued opposition of the Speaker and a few other leaders of the House demonstrated the futility of such a course. Mr. Roosevelt is now of the opinion that it would be unwise to attempt tariff revision in the coming Congress, but he will exert his influence to commit irrevocably the Republican party, in its next national platform, to the programme of summoning Congress in special session to revise the tariff, immediately after March 4th, 1909.

After his attitude toward the tariff, no policy of Mr. Roose-

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velt is more widely misunderstood than that which concerns our insular possessions. His sole desire and intent, in so far as the Philippines, Cuba, Santo Domingo and Panama are concerned, is to guide them to a point where they can govern themselves. He has asserted with vehemence that the mere thought that the United States must always retain its present possessions, or that it might be compelled to annex Cuba or Santo Domingo or Panama, makes his heart heavy. He is striving to educate these people in the difficult art of self-government, to inspire them with patriotism and to develop that stability of character which alone can make possible that stability in their national existence for which he hopes and strives. In the case of the Philippines, he has always been a consistent and persistent advocate of delegating to them every measure of self-government for which they seemed prepared. He witnessed the necessity of the return of the United States to Cuba with sorrow, and it is his determination that this time the work, not only of establishing a national government at Havana, but of fostering it until it shall be capable of inspiring that confidence which is essential to its permanence, shall be so thoroughly done as to obviate all danger of this country's having again to take over the control of Cuban affairs. The treaty with Santo Domingo, for which he sought so long to secure the approval of the Senate, and only recently succeeded, has for its sole purpose the avoidance of all necessity for interference by this Government and all danger of interference by any other. All these features of his insular policy the President clearly set forth in his letter to the Peace Conference in New York.

The foregoing constitute the important features of Mr. Roosevelt's policies, which he hopes to see enacted into law during the coming Congress, or to bequeath to his successor, for Mr. Roosevelt does not expect to succeed himself. On the contrary, he is determined that under no circumstances will he do so. The sincere belief of many of his friends that circumstances, during the next year, will so shape themselves that a majority of his party will insist on his renomination with a unanimity which he cannot resist, he dismisses with vehemence.

Does Mr. Roosevelt, however, seek to name his successor? He does not. He believes it would be improper for him to exert his influence as President to promote the interests of any individual

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candidate. Personally, he regards William H. Taft as the ideal man for his successor. He believes that Mr. Taft's naturally judicial temperament, his eleven years' experience on the bench, his exceptionally capable administration as Governor-General of the Philippines, his competent direction of the Isthmian Canal, his extraordinary diplomacy in dealing with the difficult situation which confronted him in Cuba, his close association, as member of the cabinet, with all the more important affairs of the nation during the last three years, have constituted an experience and demonstrated an ability which render him peculiarly fitted for the responsible duties of Chief Executive.

Theodore Roosevelt's loyalty to those policies for which he is responsible, and which he believes to be the policies of the great majority of the Republican party, will lead him, not to attempt to dictate his successor, but to exert his influence to prevent the nomination of any Presidential candidate unfitted by sympathy and conviction to carry on the work where he leaves off.

GEORGE GRISWOLD HILL.

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MOHAMMEDAN MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND DOMESTIC RELATION.

BY GEORGE S. BATCHELLER, ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF APPEALS (MIXED COURTS) OF EGYPT.

THE domestic relation, beginning with the rite of marriage, has been a subject of primal interest in all generations. Marriage and family relation is as old as the world, but divorce, through legal formalities, is of comparatively modern invention. "In the good old days" the devoted husband usually put out the marital candle in the Othello or Blue Beard style, and it may have been noted that the modern Blue Beard of Chicago, who recently paid the penalty of an assassin, practised the ancient system of separation quite in accordance with well-known precedents.

In different countries and different states, various laws and customs prevail as to the manner in which the family relation may be established and disestablished, and to the degree in which the relation may be "accumulated" and maintained as a domestic institution. The laws and customs pertaining to the family in so-called "civilized" countries are familiar to all, and I propose here to discuss and illustrate these relations among the people of the Mohammedan religion, whose laws and customs are so little understood, and almost universally denounced as barbarous, inhuman and immoral. In the first place, marriage is almost universal among the Mohammedans. There are no "old maids," and very rarely "cocottes," in the ordinary acceptation of the term. This latter class is recruited from divorcées, widows without children or other family ties. As a rule, no young man is considered fitted for business, or entitled to the confidence of the community, until he is engaged or married. Not infrequently, quite young children are "engaged" by their

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parents or guardians, and it is seldom that these early obligations fail of fulfilment in more mature years. A young man may marry at the age of fifteen, and a girl at twelve. These prearranged marriages are very common, and it is seldom that the husband looks at the unveiled face of his bride until after the formalities are accomplished. Still, the law allows him to see the face and hands of his intended once before marriage. There are, doubtless, disappointments at the first interview, though those are usually family secrets; and the bridegroom is supposed to philosophically observe that "beauty is only skin deep," and the bride, no doubt, possesses all the other qualities that go to the creating of the happy fireside. Then he may console himself with the knowledge that he may make three other trials in order to fill up his cup of domestic bliss, and the door of divorce is always open through which he may retire without serious opposition.

The personal statutes of the Mohammedan set forth in minute detail the rules pertaining to marriage and divorce, and prescribe the duties and obligations of both parties during the marital relations.

Article I provides that all women free of conjugal ties, and widows or divorcées, after the legal "retreat," may be demanded in marriage; but a candidate for the fair hand can only express a desire of marriage to a divorcée or widow after the expiration of one year. The marriage contract is purely a civil obligation, and may be proposed by either sex, or by the parents or guardians of either. Two witnesses are required, who must be of full age and of the masculine sex, but one man and two women may be accepted as witnesses. The marriage may also be contracted in writing if the parties are not present, and the writing is read aloud in the presence of the necessary witnesses.

Like most European countries, the question of dowry or "*dot*" forms an essential part of the marriage contract. In Mohammedan lands the husband only is obliged to provide a dowry for his bride, which varies in amount according to their respective pecuniary situations. In the absence of a fixed sum, this is regulated by the custom of the province in which the marriage takes place. This dowry is paid directly to the bride in whole or in part, and in case of non-payment she may maintain an action against her husband for its recovery.

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The trousseau of the bride, whether provided by the parents or from her own separate estate—which may consist of her personal wardrobe and the furniture of the household—is the inviolate property of the wife. The husband can make no claim on any part of it; he may not oblige her to place the furniture which belongs to her at his disposal, nor at the disposal of his guests; and, should he use the same or take possession of any part of the trousseau, the wife may pursue him in the courts in restitution or in payment of the value in case of its loss or deterioration. The intervention of a magistrate or religious authority is not essential; but if the marriage is contracted without the above conditions it may be annulled by a magistrate on the application of either party.

The Koranic law does not require a record of either marriage or divorce; but, in most Mohammedan countries, the civil authorities have provided for this defect.*

There are several prohibitions to marriage which apply to near relations and to questions of religious belief. Mohammedans may marry Christians and Jews, but no one may marry a woman who has not a "celestial religion." "Idolaters, sun-worshippers, adorers of the stars," and, in fact, all whose religious belief is not founded upon some "sacred book" are eternally forbidden to Mussulmans.

The Mohammedan law authorizes the legitimate marriage of four wives, nor can that number be exceeded, unless, of course, to replace one divorced or deceased.

Polygamy among the Mohammedans is regarded as a moral institution. They do not pretend, like the Mormons, that it is based upon divine or religious authority, although they cite abundant precedent as revealed by the sacred books of religions, including, of course, the "Testament" of the Hebrews. There are legal restrictions pertaining to this feature of the domestic relation. No man may have a plurality of wives, unless he is able to maintain them according to their rank or social position. If they desire, each wife must be provided with a

* It is an interesting fact that, until quite recent date, no authentic records of marriages have been required or kept in various States of the Union, nor have existing laws been rigorously observed, and I venture to say that, in the cases of a very large percentage of citizens, it would be impossible to furnish legal proof of the marriage of their parents or more remote ancestors.

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separate residence, and is not required to maintain social relations with, or even to make the acquaintance of, the others. Should her husband fail to furnish wardrobe, support and servants suited to her estate, or should he neglect her personally, she may cite him before the Cadi, who will require him to manifest perfect impartiality, and to fulfil all his marital duties. The children all stand upon the same footing; and, in fact, children "*born in a household,*" whether the mothers be wives or "servants," are legitimate heirs of the father, and in inheritance share with their brothers and sisters of the "regular" household. It is an interesting fact that there are scarcely any bastards in the Mohammedan world—it is not a disgrace to be born of a slave in a Mussulman's household. The father of the present Khedive, Tewfik Pasha, was the son of a slave; his father, Ismaïl Pasha, only married her after he had obtained from the Sultan a firman, fixing the inheritance to the Khediviat in his oldest son.

Several of the princes of the Khedival household are likewise sons of other than the four wives of Ismaïl, and their princely rank or social status is never questioned. Polygamy is rapidly decreasing in Egypt. The Khedive Tewfik, father of the present Khedive, had only one wife, a beautiful and accomplished woman, still living. The present Khedive has only one wife. It is "the fashion" now for all high personages to follow the "European plan," and one rarely hears of the existence of polygamy among the higher classes.

Among the fellaheen, or peasantry, this institution still prevails to a limited extent, usually as a matter of domestic economy, where all must work to maintain existence. The personal statute prescribes with care that the marriage shall be "assorted" to persons of the same social grade. In a marriage contract through parents or guardians, if the husband be inferior to the wife, such a marriage is radically null. The equality in Islamism, as far back as the grandfather, must be taken into consideration. Those who have recently espoused this faith are declared inferior. *Education is considered a patent of nobility.* "Nobility" acquired by knowledge and merit is superior to that acquired by birth. A "savant," who is not of Arab origin, is equal to an Arab woman of ancient lineage, and a "poor wise man" is equal to the daughter of an "ignorant opulent." "A

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vicious man cannot be equal to a virtuous daughter of an honest man." The personal statute provides many additional rules and regulations governing as to the compatibility, both social and moral, of persons intending to enter into the marriage relation, but they are too technical and complicated to be set forth here.

It should be remarked that the street pageants so often seen in the Orient, and known as Mohammedan marriage, signify the home-coming of the espoused bride. Other gorgeous entertainments at the home of the bridegroom or father of the bride, in high social circles, may simply indicate the proclamation of the contract of marriage, even of children of tender age, to be consummated at some future day.

The marriage being consummated, the domestic relation is so minutely traced by law that there can possibly be no misunderstanding as to the respective duties of man and wife.

Quoting almost literally from the "Personal Statute," it may be said that the husband is obliged to treat his wife with kindness, to dwell in affectionate relation with her, to provide for her support, her clothing and her lodging. When there are several wives, the husband is obliged to treat each one with equality, especially in regard to their entertainment, the distribution of his attentions and company. He is obliged to visit alternately the habitation of each of his wives, for a day or several days, as he may distribute his time. The equality of this "frequentation" is obligatory, either by day or night, according to his other occupations. He may not give one wife an advantage to the prejudice of her associate spouse, nor remain in her presence longer than the allowed time, without the consent of the other wives. In case of sickness, however, he may visit the invalid beyond the prescribed time, until her recovery. When the disease is very serious, one wife may renounce her special rights in favor of another, but she may reclaim them at any time. In case of travelling from home, the husband may select one or more wives to accompany him; if he selects but one, it is better that it be by lot, but on his return he is obliged to equalize his attentions with those who have remained at home. If, after the husband has established the rotation of his visits with each of his wives, he fails to maintain that equality in favor of one or the other, the magistrate, upon the request of the wife interested, will ad-

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minister a reprimand to the husband, and admonish him to be more just in the future. If, in spite of this judicial reprimand, the wife remains an object of injustice on the part of the husband, he becomes liable to a correctional penalty more severe, but not to imprisonment. The husband, though poor and ill, and in a state of decrepitude, or even of tender years, is obliged to provide for the support of his wife whether she be rich or poor, Mussulman or Non-Mussulman, very young or advanced in age, provided she is in a state of perfect health. These obligations apply even though the wife remain in the paternal home, unless the husband provides a suitable domicile. The husband is not discharged from the obligation to pay the expenses of his wives' support when in prison, even for a debt owing to a wife which he is not able to pay. If the husband has the means, he must provide for the domestics of each of his wives. The amount allowed to the wives for their support and maintenance is fixed according to their respective conditions. They should be sumptuous when both are rich, simple when both are poor, and medium when their conditions are unequal. In the latter case, if it is the husband who is poor, he will pay what he can, and any portion furnished by his wife becomes a debt of the husband, payable when his pecuniary condition is improved. The amount for support, if not agreed upon by the parties, may be fixed judicially, and may be varied according to the varying fortunes of the parties. The code provides for the establishment of these sums according to the profession, trade or occupation of the husband. Should the wife complain that her allowance is insufficient, the magistrate may summon the husband to render account of his income and to justify his failure to furnish the amount established; and, in case of failure to conform to the judicial order, the magistrate will cause his arrest, at the request of the wife, and, if he persists in this neglect, he may be condemned to imprisonment. The magistrate may also order the sale of all his personal property to supply the allowance of the wife. In case of distress occasioned by the failure of the husband to provide for support, the parents of the wife are obliged to maintain her and her children until other relief be found.

The wife is obliged to prepare the family provisions, but may claim payment for services if she performs culinary duties for his sole profit. Should the wife provide for the support of the

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family from her own private estate, whether for her own maintenance or that of her children or husband, the amounts so advanced may be sued for and recovered of her husband, and she may judicially enforce this claim as if he were an entire stranger. The wife is not obliged to accompany her husband to the "*domicile conjugale*" even after the consummation of the marriage, until the dowry to which she is entitled by the contract has been fully paid and assured. She has the right to visit her father and her mother once a week, and other relatives once a year, but she cannot pass the night with any one of them without the express consent of her husband. She may receive visits from her mother and her father once a week, and from her other relatives once a year. The wife whose father, even not a Mussulman, is afflicted with a long sickness, may go to his bedside, and give him necessary care, without the consent of her husband.

The foregoing citations on the Mussulman domestic law might give the impression that the family relation differs materially from that of other peoples; but, notwithstanding these legal provisions, the Mussulman household is quite human and attractive. Affection and gentleness are the prevailing elements, and the devotion and solicitude of a husband for his family is worthy of all acceptation. While, in the Mohammedan kingdom, women do not mingle in miscellaneous society, nor expose their faces to the public gaze, their influence in the domestic circle is potent and often controlling; and any matter involving the welfare and interests of the family is seldom undertaken by the husband without the approval and counsel of the women of his household, of whom the chief personage may be the mother or grandmother. The affection of the Mussulmans for their children is strong and enduring, and there is no sight more beautiful than the happiness manifested by a father over the amusements and pleasures of the younger members of his household. Mohammedan women do not complain of their social restrictions; on the contrary, they look upon the liberty exercised by their sisters of other faiths rather as a derogation from the modest sphere originally assigned to the gentler sex. It has been said that the Moslem women have no spiritual or religious life, and that that quality was reserved exclusively to the men, but this is inexact. On the contrary, women whose pecuniary means will admit are educated in all the doctrines of their re-

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ligion. They can recite large portions of the Koran; and, while they do not go to the mosque and pray in public, they invariably invoke the blessing of Allah upon their households, and carry to Him all their personal griefs. It is a well-known historical fact that, throughout the Mohammedan kingdom, women have exerted in many important events a potent and controlling influence. It has been "historically" stated that women are not accorded the same right of sepulchre as men, and yet the most imposing funeral rites I have ever witnessed in the East have been those of women. Even the Khedive Tewfik was buried with less impressive ceremonial than his mother, the fourth wife of Ismaïl.

There are many problems, perplexing to a Christian, bearing upon the interior life of the Mohammedan. That life is so hidden from public gaze that only an intimate personal relation with these families can reveal its true situation. The moral principle pervades these interiors quite as much as in Christian households. How often have I heard it said by old and young, "I would not do this, for it's not right," and many years ago I heard a little donkey-boy protest against conducting his English patron through a certain part of the city of Cairo "because it was wrong." The master of the group was attempting to force him to proceed with the others when I intervened, and asked why he would not go, and he said, "My mother told me it was a wicked part of the city, and I ought not to go there, or take any one with my donkey." I sustained his position, and he ever remained grateful to me for it. I have seen him grow to become a prosperous dragoman, who has served many an American family on the Nile. He has now retired with a competency, and there is no more respected citizen, no matter of what religious faith, in the city of Cairo. This is one of many similar incidents which have fallen within my observation during my long residence in the East.

Peasant women in Egypt do not labor in the fields, as they do in nearly every country of Europe. While they perform onerous domestic duties, grind the corn for bread, and carry the water for culinary purposes, they are seldom forced to drudgery, and the ambition of a poor man is to become able to provide servants for his family.

The respect and devotion of the young for the old and infirm

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are beautiful to behold, and never does an older person enter an assemblage of younger without their rising, saluting, and remaining standing until he is seated; and in their festivities they manifest a lively solicitude that the old and infirm shall participate in and share all their enjoyments. Indeed, there are many customs and practices within the domestic sphere which would be worthy of imitation among people enjoying the advantages of "Christian civilization."

The severest criticism to be passed upon the marital relations is the facility with which it may be dissolved. "Repudiation" is the prerogative of the husband; the marriage contract may be broken at any time by his independent action, without invoking judicial sanction as required in most other countries. There is a distinction between "repudiation" and "divorce"; the latter is usually accomplished by mutual agreement, or some special condition supposed to sanction the act. It seems shocking to those accustomed to apply to the courts for relief from the marital bond that the husband should be permitted to send away his wife by pronouncing certain formalities, either orally or in writing, without the sanction of any public authority. The formula usually employed is, "I repudiate thee"; and this language is indispensable for the validity of the repudiation, and must be repeated three times, though this repetition need not necessarily be at the same time. The wife may not divorce her husband, unless she has stipulated this right in the marriage contract, in which case she may apply to the Cadi, who will pronounce a divorce without specific motives. This right of "repudiation" is not so frequently exercised as might be supposed, and it is a common practice where domestic infelicity leads to separation that a family council is invoked or convened by the older members, and a reconciliation is established. In actual practice, divorces are not more frequent in Mussulman families than in countries which boast of the privileges of the highest civilization and the benign influences of "evangelic" instruction. I venture to say that in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo divorces have not been more frequent in proportion to the population than in Chicago and, possibly, the enlightened metropolis of New York. In a recent public declaration, Judge Marcus Kavanagh, Chief-Justice of Cook County (Chicago), states that over two thousand

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divorces were granted in Chicago in 1904, and in the country at large just as many in proportion to the population of the different communities. Judge Truax boasts of having excelled the records of his associates in the Supreme Court of the City of New York in granting eighty-one divorces in the month of March of last year. Of these, thirty were brought by husbands, and fifty-one by wives. It will be observed that the difference between the Mohammedan "personal adjudication" and that of a duly authorized judge, is not as great as might appear at first glance.*

Under the Moslem system, there is no disgrace or even humiliation associated with repudiation. The divorcée returns to her family, and after a year's delay (which might serve as an example in some other countries!) may remarry. The husband is obliged to provide for the maintenance of the children, and those of tender years accompany the mother. Should she have sons or daughters married and settled in life, they usually receive her and give her the maintenance and protection due to her as a mother. But the former husband may not remarry her until after she herself has remarried and become divorced or a widow.

In considering the character of any people, their origin and political history must be kept in view. Geographical and climatic conditions often have a preponderating force.

The Arabic race should not be confounded with the Turk or Circassian; the latter are entirely different people, and not here to be considered. The Arab is embued with sentiment, is a lover of the beautiful, both in art and architecture, as the Arabesque designs wherever found will attest. They are patrons of learning, and their schools abound in every province. Cairo possesses the finest Oriental library in the world, and the university of El Azar has an average attendance of ten thousand students. Most of their studies are devoted to the Koranic Canonical law, but the sciences and higher mathematics are also taught as an eclectic course.

Women of *all* religious faiths in the East are considered inferior to men, but this condition also prevails in Continental

* It is revealed by the preliminary estimates of the U. S. Census Bureau that during the period from 1887 to 1906 the applications for divorce in the United States reached the enormous total of 1,400,000; and that three-fourths of these applications were granted, giving a grand total of one million of divorces in the United States during the last twenty years.

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Europe, where married women are still held under tutelage of their husbands, even in regard to the control of their separate estates. While the education of girls is unequal to that of boys, history recounts many instances where Mohammedan women have exerted great influence in the affairs of government, and have stamped their individuality upon the epoch in which they flourished. Influenced by his third wife, a woman of considerable learning, the Khedive Ismaïl caused to be constructed most extensive school buildings to be devoted to the higher education of Mohammedan girls; but this promising institution was suppressed, as a measure of economy, in 1896, through the English and French intervention in Egyptian financial affairs, and these beautiful buildings are now occupied by the administration of public works. A similar "economical" measure was employed in the suppression of the extensive schools for soldiers' children established by General Stone Pasha, the American chief of Ismaïl's military household. Schools for girls are now beginning to be revived throughout all Egypt, and the movement for the education of women is assuming extensive proportions in the land of the Nile.

A most interesting book has recently been published in the Arabic language by X— Bey, a member of the native law-court, in support of female education, employing the familiar argument that the mother who gives direction to the young idea should be trained and qualified for that responsible function. The wife of a young Mohammedan lawyer of my acquaintance possesses the educational accomplishments of any of her most-favored Christian sisters. She has achieved such success both in painting and music that her canvasses have been exposed in the Salon, and several of her musical compositions have been published in Europe.

No one familiar with this interesting race of people will venture to classify them as inferior in intellectual capacity to their Christian brethren of the East, although lacking in many of the educational advantages enjoyed by the latter; and while it is conceded that ignorance and superstition largely abound, that condition cannot be justly attributed *alone* to the followers of the Prophet, nor can they be excluded from their share of the nobler qualities which are the characteristic of a true civilization.

GEORGE S. BATCHELLER.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED.

BY OLIVIA H. DUNBAR, BRANDER MATTHEWS AND A. S. VAN WESTRUM.

"THE COUNTRY HOUSE."*

An almost superhuman power of perceiving what we rather tiresomely call "types" has enabled Mr. John Galsworthy to write two of the most remarkable of recent novels,—"A Man of Property," published last year, and "The Country House," which has just been issued. Each book is secondarily, but only secondarily, a satire upon a certain division of the English social system; Mr. Galsworthy must have been obsessed by the passion for human portraiture before he determined to write novels on economic themes. His portraits are almost precise literary equivalents of good cartoons,—strong, eloquent strokes, relentlessly unflattering, indisputably true and of perfectly unambiguous meaning. No indeterminate smudges destroy the sharp, clear black-and-white effect. Mr. Galsworthy is no more "subtle" than he is merely "obvious"; abrupt and elliptical as the cartoon must be, he is not in the least cryptic. Unlike the old-fashioned novel, idealistically wrought in oils, his very individual performances have no unnaturally emphasized foregrounds, no dim, discreet backgrounds. One character is as impartially drawn as another, and when the last figure in the group has been completed, the cartoonist simply stops. He is little more concerned with "plot," with dramatic sequence or climax, than is the life he so straightforwardly and conscientiously sketches.

"The Country House" is rather looser in texture, rather less insistent in idea, than the earlier novel. Inasmuch as there is nothing very new to say about the survivals of the feudal system in England, this picture of country society seems somewhat less

* "The Country House." By John Galsworthy. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

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original, also, than that of those formidable "men of property," the Forsytes. Of the dryness and fatuity of the kind of life that this book portrays, many satirists have already written, although rarely if ever in such uncompromising and unsentimental fashion. One after another, there slip out the brilliant pictures of what might readily seem a dull group of persons,—not always visibly promoting the progress of the story, but at least invariably provoking the reader's astonishment and delight. Each chapter, that is to say, is a fresh and complete impression, and to a singular extent the book is one that may as profitably be read in isolated chapters as continuously. Didactically speaking, it is doubtless a fault if a novel have very little story interest and practically no suspense; but if Mr. Galsworthy can write a novel so much more entertaining than those of the people who observe all the conventions, one is disposed to waive the question of his method.

It is of the very nature of such astonishing observation as Mr. Galsworthy's that it does not extend to a profound depth. Not a single significant superficiality escapes it,—but there are hidden things that may. Or it would be juster to say that such a writer deliberately assigns himself a province, the province of manners, and consistently makes no attempt to transcend it. This book contains, however, one exception, in that very delicately perceived character, Mrs. Pendyce, the patrician wife of the old Squire, in whose tough-fibred density Mr. Bernard Shaw would take such diabolical delight. Mrs. Pendyce can scarcely be dismissed as a type, like almost all Mr. Galsworthy's faithful portraits,—like Mrs. Bellew, who was so good-looking that other women distrusted her; like Mrs. Barter, the long-suffering wife of the rector, with the "look of women who are always doing their duty"; like Lady Malden, who gave teas to working-men in the London season. These are all more lifelike than life, but there is a touch of elusiveness about Mrs. Pendyce. If the novelist is severe toward crass distinctions of wealth and "position," this one character would show him entirely tolerant of distinctions of race, of blood. His sympathetically pictured aristocrat is too delicately bred for assertion or revolt, and even the lifelong denial of the graces, beauties, as well as the little extravagances and recklessnesses that she covets, imposes on her no tragic suffering, only a kind of hopeless wistfulness. Mrs. Pendyce's excursion to

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London, her flight from her husband to her son, is a bit of quite remarkable imagination, and by all means the finest thing in the book. Each of her successive impulses is as true as the disillusionment it leads to, and the discoveries made by this mother who has not yet outgrown her girlhood are pathetically inevitable. Sitting alone in Hyde Park, with youth and gayety before her eyes, she "felt like one of her own plants, plucked up from its native earth, with all its poor roots hanging bare, as though groping for the earth to cling to. She knew now that she had lived too long in the soil that she had hated; and was too old to be transplanted. The custom of the country—that weighty, wingless creature born of time and of the earth—had its limbs fast twined around her." But a much more overwhelming discovery was that her son was, after all, a Pendyce and alien to her. "It may happen that for long years the likeness between father and son will lie dormant, and only when disintegrating forces threaten the links of the chain binding them together, will that likeness leap forth." Thus there became manifest in George Pendyce what his creator calls a "provincial soul." Mr. Shaw, to whose mind Mr. Galsworthy's has a certain cousinly resemblance, could have imagined the congenitally provincial George; but to the delicacies and divinations in such a portrait as that of Mrs. Pendyce he would be conspicuously unequal.

The book is full of phrases and epithets, full of a thousand temptations to quotation. Too much, for instance, can scarcely be said in praise of such a disquisition as that on "Mr. Pendyce's Head," which, "seen from behind at his library bureau, where it was his practice to spend most mornings from half past nine to eleven or even twelve, was observed to be of a shape to throw no small light upon his class and character. Its contour was almost national. . . . His head, indeed, was like nothing so much as the Admiralty Pier at Dover,—that strange, long, narrow thing, with a slight twist or bend at the end which first disturbs the comfort of foreigners arriving on these shores, and strikes them with a sense of wonder and dismay."

Mr. Galsworthy's quality is an unusually positive one. The reader may frowningly reflect on the many things that he is not, but there is very little fault to be found with, so far as it goes, the thing that he is. What we are, after all, accustomed to is the spectacle of novelists imitating each other, and what we doubtless

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weakly and half consciously miss in Mr. Galsworthy is an imitation of somebody else. But the virtues of these books of his are very distinctively his own, and they are the virtues not of facility, but of power. With greater facility, these novels would not have their present effect of choppiness; but they might also lack their sturdy sinew. The one thing that it would seem indispensable for him to develop, in order to become a novelist of genuine importance, is a dramatic sense. It is true that Mr. Galsworthy is already a dramatist, or at least a writer of plays; but in his novels, at least, he still treats his characters as isolated beings. When his characters come to develop some consciousness, one of another, when they come to be more closely and significantly linked together, this brilliant portrayer of manners may easily come to produce something of permanent value.

OLIVIA HOWARD DUNBAR.

RALEIGH'S "SHAKSPERE."*

IT is now almost thirty years since Mr. John Morley planned the English Men of Letters series and set the pattern for the American Men of Letters series edited at first by the late Charles Dudley Warner, and for the *Grands Ecrivains Français,* still edited by M. Jusserand. All three of these series have generally maintained a high standard,—the French series perhaps the highest of all. Mr. Morley contributed to his own series the admirable volume on Burke, and for Mr. Warner's series Professor Lounsbury prepared the excellent volume on Fenimore Cooper, a model of all that the biography of a modern author should be. It is true that Mr. Morley's good-nature allowed the volume on Sheridan to be undertaken by an incompetent hand; and it is true that since Mr. Warner's death there have been admitted into the American series several volumes—notably that on Prescott—which showed a lamentable falling off from the earlier standard.

It is a curious coincidence that the foremost figure in all French literature and the foremost figure in all English literature waited long before inclusion in the series wherein the less important writers of his language were early considered. Even now the volume on Molière, which M. Jusserand has confided to M.

* "Shakspere." By Walter Raleigh, Professor of English Literature in the University of Oxford. English Men of Letters. New York: The Macmillan Co.

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Georges La Fenestre, has not yet appeared; and it is only now that Shakspere takes his place among English men of letters. The delay has been justified since it has resulted in putting into the skilful hand of Professor Walter Raleigh the difficult task of dealing with the greatest of dramatic poets in the brief compass of two hundred pages. Mr. Raleigh has already studied the careers and the characters of artists as different as Milton, Stevenson and Whistler. He has traced the earlier evolution of the English novel in what is unquestionably the best book on that interesting theme. He has recently been appointed to the newly established chair of English literature at Oxford, where he is the sole representative of a subject so important that in one American university it demands the services of ten professors with as many more tutors and instructors.

The first qualification for a writer on Shakspere to-day is common sense; he must have a clear head and an open mind; he needs sanity and balance more than anything else. Insight he ought to have, of course, and scholarship also, as well as sympathy and appreciation; but in dealing with Shakspere in these times of unrestrained and indiscriminate eulogy, he must possess, more than anything else, an unusual disinterestedness and an unusual desire to tell the truth exactly as he sees it and no matter how unwelcome it may seem. And all these qualities Mr. Raleigh has revealed in this little book, especially the most needful of all,—common sense.

Shakspere's work is not all of a piece; it is not all of equal excellence. We know this, all of us; yet few of us seem willing to admit it. But we fail to appreciate fully the power and the art of "Hamlet" and of "Othello" if we do not see clearly the weakness and the slipshod handling of "Cymbeline" and of "Timon of Athens." Professor Raleigh declares boldly that "more than one or two of these plays as they stand in the Folio, are, to put it bluntly, bad plays, poor or confused in structure, or defaced with feeble writing" (page 108). He dares to assert that "Troilus and Cressida" is "a bad play, crowded with wonders and beauties" (page 116). He perceives that Shakspere's "bad Kings Richard III and John, are not wholly unlike the villains of melodrama" (page 183). He denies the scholarship and the omniscience with which Shakspere has been foolishly credited. He shows that Shakspere is careless in anachronism,

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in geography, in history, and even in natural history. He knew a great deal about nature, but his cuckoos and his nightingales, his toads and his bees, are creatures of fable and not of fact (page 37).

Although Professor Raleigh expresses the rather venturesome opinion that Shakspere's "continued vogue upon the stage is the smallest part of his immortality," he recognizes more clearly than most commentators the central fact that it was for the stage of his own time that Shakspere composed his plays. He sees plainly that Shakspere, intending his dramas to be performed by actors in a theatre and before an audience, had perforce to adjust them to the actors of his company (page 38 and page 102),—to fit them to the conditions of the rude playhouses of his time, with the bare platform jutting from under the gallery from which hung the arras ready to be looped back when need was to show the interior of a tent or the like (page 119),— and to take thought constantly about the likings and the prejudices of the groundlings and of the gallants who crowded to see the acting of his plays (page 26). Just as Sophocles made his great dramas to hold the interest of the Athenians seated along the curving hillsides of the Acropolis and just as Molière sought to win the favor of the fun-loving burghers of Paris, so Shakspere had to "study the tastes and expectations of his audience and indulge them with what they approve."

It may be questioned whether Professor Raleigh is quite as full as might be wished in his consideration of Shakspere's dramaturgic craftsmanship, although he does show a keener appreciation of it than is common among Shaksperian commentators. After all, it must ever be kept in mind, that Shakspere, even if he is a poet, a philosopher and a psychologist, is primarily a playwright, making his living by writing plays for the theatre of his own time. It is in his consideration of Shakspere as a poet and as a creator of character that Professor Raleigh is seen at his best. He has not the full appreciation of the Elizabethan background revealed so richly in M. Jusserand's history of English literature; he lacks the interest in the mechanism of play-making which made Professor Barrett Wendell's analysis of the successive plays so suggestive; and he does not reach up to the loftier insight into tragic form which lifted Mr. A. C. Bradley's "Shaksperian Tragedy" far above the level of such ordinary critical

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comment as was to be found in Mr. Stopford Brooke's recent volume of essays.

BRANDER MATTHEWS.

"VICTOR HUGO'S INTELLECTUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY."*

SHORTLY after the death of Victor Hugo, in 1885, was begun the publication of his posthumous works, the stately volumes falling from the press with a frequency that filled the world with amazement at the productive power of the Titan—an amazement that was quickly succeeded by indifference. Outside of France, the greatest name of nineteenth-century literature fell into a kind of premature semi-neglect rather than semi-oblivion; the rest of the world, frankly speaking, had received more of him than it cared for. What it retained of him was his earlier work, and of this chiefly his prose, which, being translatable, alone could hope for that kind of international popularity which works its way downward among the masses. To-day only "*Les Misérables*" is found there, as is but natural in an age of ever-growing social unrest, but even that classic has been left behind by the spirit of the day. "*Notre Dame de Paris*" still keeps it company, but "*Quatre-vingt-treize*," "*Han d'Islande*," "*Bug-Jargal*," "*L'Homme Qui Rit*" and "*Les Travailleurs de la Mer*" are forgotten.

Hugo's poetry, by far the nobler part of his literary work, has shared among the international few the fate that has overtaken his prose among the international many. It has been relegated to the class-rooms of colleges, and to the library of the special student of French literature. It is not kept in the company of Homer, Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe on the shelf of the lover of immortal literature, a familiar friend to be taken down at odd moments for solace and profit and stimulation. Whatever the ultimate verdict of literary history, the present generation has relegated Victor Hugo to a place in the second rank, because, with all the sonorous majesty of his strophes, the inexhaustible wealth and beauty of his imagery, he lacks a consistent, profound, original philosophy of life—what the Ger-

* "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." Translated, with a Study of the Last Phase of Hugo's Genius, by Lorenzo O'Rourke. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

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mans so felicitously term a "*Weltanschauung.*" It is its content that makes poetry immortal, not mere form, however grandiose, nor adornment, however dazzling. Victor Hugo has been called the Michelangelo of literature by headlong enthusiasts, its Turner by more impartial critics. In the perspective of a quarter of a century, the comparison with Gustave Doré appears to be the most exact of all.

These observations are called forth by the enthusiastic introductory "Study of the last Phase of Hugo's Genius," which Mr. Lorenzo O'Rourke has prefixed to his translation of the poet's "*Postscriptum de Ma Vie,*" just published in this country under the title of "Victor Hugo's Intellectual Autobiography." The book, which dates from the exile in Guernsey, was withheld from the public, so we are given to understand, for many years by Hugo's own directions—exactly why, one fails to see. It was issued in France on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of his birth, in 1902. The work will detract nothing from Hugo's fame, it will certainly add nothing to it. These eleven essays on literature, art, God, religion, the soul and immortality are characteristic of his artistry, of his consummate mastery of the majestic phrase, of his fertile fancy, of his luxuriance of powerful image and arresting metaphor, of his facility of grasping and elaborating the ideas of the moment "in the air," but also of his poverty of deep original thought. The literary essays, which open the volume, are, in the final analysis, but thinly disguised directions for posterity to follow in the formation of its final judgment of the genius of their author — directions pointing to Homer, Æschylus, Dante and Shakespeare, which Mr. O'Rourke has gladly followed. They will be found in the chapters on "Genius and Taste," "Genius" and "The Utility of the Beautiful." The religious and philosophic chapters that follow bear the intellectual stamp of their period, and by it are relegated to the past—the stamp of the middle of the last century, with its religio-evolutionary uncertainties and questionings, long since reconciled in the simplest minds, and laid to rest by the thinking world. Here the absence of vigorous independent thought is most strikingly seen. It is all reflected from without, and throughout visualization takes the place of interpretation, numerous and gorgeous images that of speculation. The whole book is but a last illustration of Hugo's incomparable

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gift of phrase-making, of his self-consciousness, his egotism, his reliance upon a superb, but purely external, literary gift, upon a craftsmanship that apparently never was in close communion with its possessor's essential inner self, which, instead, always looked abroad for stimulation to the intellectual, social or political preoccupations of the hour. Victor Hugo sought, first of all, fame, not self-expression. One can apply to him Lowell's characterization of Gladstone as "a gentleman who can extemporize lifelong convictions." He was ever a *poseur*.

He posed, also, as a man of prodigious erudition. Whether he was or no, it would be difficult to decide: there have always been two opinions on the subject. We may safely assume that he thoroughly knew, and loved, and understood, and appreciated Homer, Æschylus, Dante, Shakespeare; that was but part of his craft. But one finds here numerous instances of what can only be described as the scholarly pose. In the essay called "*Promontorium Somnii,*" for instance, there occurs obscure illustration after obscure illustration of the superstitions of classical antiquity and the Dark and Middle Ages, unknown customs and names never encountered before, and never to be seen again by any but the most specializing of special students. No wonder that the translator occasionally betrays his bewilderment. What are *alungles, asproles, unguliques, spurgeflex* and *voultes?* Hugo, in his large way, does not stop to explain such familiar inventions of mediæval diabolism. And does not "*Berbiguier de Terreneuve du Thym*" look gorgeously erudite? One is glad to learn that he "used to pass his time in catching demons between two brushes which he would violently rub together." But when one discovers in the end that all this display of learning is lavished, not upon a study of demonology, ancient and Gothic, but upon an elaboration of the quite familiar fact that the superstitions of the Pagan world were not dissipated by Christianity, but survived in far more forbidding, crasser forms, one suspects that it was all "read up" for the purpose, to be forgotten the moment it had served its turn. But, for all that, these pages have the grand manner that distinguishes every line written by this master hand.

Of the remaining contents of the book, little need be said. They are mere sketches that might better have been left unpublished and untranslated. That on "Great Men"—Shake-

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speare, La Fontaine, Voltaire, Beaumarchais—is utterly unimportant; from the "Thoughts" that close the volume nothing can be taken worth preserving, except, perhaps, "Change your opinions, keep to your principles; change your leaves, keep intact your roots." The essay on the French Revolution, a mighty subject, indeed, turns out to be but another image, of a flood of miserable humanity bearing the barge of autocracy on its lacerated bodies, and ultimately dashing it upon the rocks.

A final word about Mr. O'Rourke's introduction. It is not a study, but an unqualified panegyric, in the spirit of Swinburne's extravagant homage, and, as has already been said, in that of Hugo's own complacent, if indirect, suggestions. "He is a primitive genius appearing at a modern period, and confronting the age of science. . . . He is a primitive genius of the Homeric strain," these are phrases taken bodily from him. Mr. O'Rourke is suggestive when he deals with Hugo's artistry; he claims too much when he denies all limitations to his talent. He is clear-eyed enough to see, with Swinburne, that "it is as a lyric poet that Victor Hugo has distanced all rivals"; he elaborates very ingeniously the proposition that Hugo saw life, not in colors, but in light and shadow, in black and white; but, when he claims the most exalted inspiration from within as the cause of that "auto-intoxication" which Hugo displays in so much of his poetry and his prose, he enters upon debatable ground. The psychology of Victor Hugo is too complicated, and it has been too little studied thus far to allow of such an offhand decision. Hugo had trained this power of self-intoxication to such a degree that it had become an almost mechanical trick. Hence, in his work, a not infrequent lack of proportion between treatment and theme, ever the one majestic sweep of giant wings, the same soaring at the same great height, however close to earth his subject. A genius he was, but he made the genius serve the craftsman, not the craftsman the genius. Mr. O'Rourke would place him, at his own suggestion, beside Homer, Dante, Shakespeare. Let us leave him, instead, in this period of the neglect that apparently always follows a great writer's death, and precedes the determination of his definitive place in literature, in the company of two immortals of still uncertain ultimate standing on the mountain-top—Molière and Goethe.

A. SCHADE VAN WESTRUM.

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WORLD-POLITICS

BERLIN: WASHINGTON.

BERLIN, *July, 1907.*

THE development of the domestic situation in Germany, and the success or failure of Prince von Bülow's experiment of governing with a Liberal-Conservative *Bloc,* hinge upon the extent to which the Government is able or willing to fulfil its programme of social and economic reforms. The essential features of this programme are still as vague as they were when the new Reichstag assembled before Easter, and its fulfilment is far too dependent on the sincerity of the Government's professions of Liberalism to be forecast even in outline.

In the mean time the resignation of Count Posadowsky, who for ten years has presided over the Imperial Home Office, has not reassured Prince von Bülow's Liberal and Radical supporters with regard to his willingness or ability to keep faith with his new majority. The ex-Secretary of State for the Interior was by far the ablest of the Imperial Chancellor's coadjutors in the government of the Empire. His unrivalled grasp of the multitudinous affairs of his department and his assiduity, combined with an infinite capacity for taking pains, made him the ideal type of the official which the Prussian bureaucratic system was intended to produce. Conscientious and invariably self-informed, he was a minor Providence to the nation, and in Parliament a tower of strength to the Government. By birth a nobleman and a member of the landed and propertied classes, he nevertheless managed during his forty years of continuous public service to keep abreast, and sometimes ahead, of modern requirements and ideas. If the tinge of paternalism which characterized the majority of his social proposals betrayed the training and traditions of their author, they were redeemed and inspired by a

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fine and sympathetic spirit of intelligent Liberalism which was universally recognized. Even the uncompromising opposition of the Social Democracy was partially relaxed in Count Posadowsky's favor. But he was no courtier or carpet knight, like Prince von Bülow, and his undivided attention to the details of his department, which he controlled in all its branches, won for him in the highest quarters the unenviable reputation of a pedant. In addition to his commanding intellect, which made the Chancellor's more superficial arts and crafts seem small by comparison, Count Posadowsky labored under the disability of differing from his official chief on questions of political and Parliamentary tactics. The latest occasion upon which this divergence manifested itself was at the dissolution of the Reichstag last December, which Count Posadowsky regarded as an act of temerity. Perhaps he realized too keenly the artificial character of the theatrical campaign against the Centre party, and he may have apprehended the truth that, in reality, the Chancellor had staked his political existence in order to defeat a powerful Court clique, which had set itself to undermine his position in the Emperor William's favor. If all that has been said and written about this so-called camarilla during the last few months is only approximately true, the history of its intrigues forms one of the most instructive documents in modern German politics. In countries where the process of government is conducted in public, machinations of this kind would be impossible, even on the part of competent and experienced politicians. But the camarilla has been exposed, and in the event Prince von Bülow was so far successful that, although he completely failed to weaken the Parliamentary Centre party, against which the dissolution was ostensibly directed, he inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Social Democrats by a questionable appeal to "national" sentiment.

But the Imperial Chancellor's triumph entailed a number of obligations, the fulfilment of which demanded the whole-hearted cooperation of the Government, and in particular of the Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior. Count Posadowsky, however, remained sceptical as to the ultimate success of Prince von Bülow's experiment, and his attitude even in Parliament implied a doubt as to whether it would be possible to "mate the Liberal with the Conservative spirit" without detriment to the development of social policy. So long as the Conservative and

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Agrarian element remains preponderant in Prussia, scepticism as to the possibility of developing social and economic policy on Radical or even Liberal lines in the Empire is justified. Prince von Bülow has tried to bridge over the difficulty by investing the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior with the functions of Vice-President of the Prussian Council of Ministers. But the difficulty remains, and is still further intensified by the fact that, whereas in the Empire and in the Reichstag Prince von Bülow, as Imperial Chancellor, is trying to govern against the Centre party, in Prussia and in the Diet the same statesman, as Prussian Minister-President, has to rely upon the Centre in order to conduct his policy in its most important branches. The situation is Gilbertian and untenable. As Count Posadowsky was unable to lend the experiment his whole-hearted support, he was compelled to resign. Through Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the promoted Prussian Minister of the Interior, and by the prospective creation of a new Imperial Labor Office, Prince von Bülow is hoping that he has found the solution of this complicated problem. In order to compensate the Liberals for the dismissal of Count Posadowsky, the Imperial Chancellor has also sacrificed Dr. von Studt, the Prussian Minister of Education, who has long been the *bête noire* of intelligent Liberalism in Germany. But an equally acceptable successor in the eyes of the orthodox Conservatives has been discovered for the post.

A by no means negligible advantage which accrues to the Imperial Chancellor from the delegation of a large number of his duties, both in the Empire and in Prussia, to the new Imperial Secretary of State for the Interior, is to be found in the fact that this arrangement allows Prince von Bülow to devote himself more exclusively to foreign affairs. Foreign policy is the Chancellor's peculiar domain, and he has never, not even when his physical and intellectual energies were unimpaired, exhibited any marked aptitude for assimilating the great principles of social and political economy of which Count Posadowsky was so preeminently master. The task with which Prince von Bülow is confronted is no mean one, and it will require all his diplomatic talents to overcome the difficulties of the situation to the satisfaction of his critics in Germany.

The belief that Germany is a "sated" Power may have been true of the quarter of a century which immediately succeeded

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the war with France. But since that period forces have arisen which have gradually tended to shake this belief. During the last decade Germany has been impelled into activity, partly by the force of her own industrial and commercial evolution and partly by the force of international factors. The first has imposed upon her obligations and responsibilities far beyond her boundaries in Europe. The second, on the other hand, has been called into being by the political deductions which she has attempted to draw, not only in Europe, from her victories in the wars against Denmark, Austria and France, but also in *Weltpolitik,* as the result of her commercial expansion. That Germany has kept the peace for more than a generation redounds to her credit, in so far as the maintenance of peace has depended upon her discretion. On the other hand, the direction which has been given to German policy and the attributes, material and moral, with which it has been invested by the Emperor William and his Government have suggested inferences which Powers jealous of their own standing could not possibly ignore. Just as the Franco-Prussian alliance was intended to redress the Continental balance of power after the consolidation of Germany, so the Anglo-French *entente cordiale* and its ancillary agreements have been designed to restore the equilibrium of Europe, after the defeat of Russia in East Asia, and the consequent reassertion of the preponderance of the Triple Alliance. While this readjustment assures the continuance of normal conditions, it also acts as a salutary curb upon any aspirations which Germany may be tempted to entertain. There is abundant evidence that Germany is chafing under this restraint. Prince von Bülow is inordinately fond of repeating that "pressure is bound to create counter-pressure," and at the same time the assurance is reiterated that Germany has no ambitions outside the commercial sphere. It would be interesting to know why, if she cherishes no aspirations which are incompatible with the interests of the Western European Powers, the Anglo-Franco-Spanish exchange of guarantees is wantonly interpreted as a menace to her position. The attempt to undermine the Anglo-French *entente* by raising the so-called Morocco "question" proved a failure. The reception which has been accorded in authoritative quarters in Germany to the new agreements between England, France and Spain shows that German statesmen are beginning to realize the

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futility of trying to break up the understanding between these Mediterranean Powers. If Great Britain is to be displaced from her position athwart the path of German ambitions, the attack will have to be delivered in another quarter. There are an increasing number of indications that German policy is casting about for some means of counterbalancing what the German reptile press habitually calls the "anti-German Trust." Exactly half a century ago the late Prince Bismarck described Prussian foreign policy in his day as "a passive aimlessness (or an aimless passivity), which was only too glad to be left alone." To-day, after the lapse of fifty years, there is much the same kind of passivity, but there are signs that definite aims are shaping themselves. For the present, *l'Allemagne se recueille*. The question is how long the domestic situation will permit or compel the Government to remain inactive, and how long German prestige can afford to abide natural and spontaneous developments.

Germany, it is frequently repeated, is strong enough to stand by herself. To all practical intents and purposes this boast is justified. But, at the same time, the growth of potent factors in world-politics, like America and Japan, and, above all, the comprehensive network of *ententes* which a far-seeing British policy has created, have robbed "isolation" of much of the splendor which formerly attached to this condition. The value of a purely Continental insurance policy like the Triple Alliance, moreover, tends to depreciate in proportion as German interests expand beyond Europe. From the moral point of view, again, the disadvantage of being identified with purely reactionary forces, like the Tsar, the Sultan and the Pope, has long been keenly felt in Germany. The prospect of a *rapprochement* between England and Russia, combined with the latter's defeat by Japan, the repeated shocks which Mohammedan confidence in Germany has sustained, and the estrangement of German Catholicism in the Empire itself have considerably weakened Germany's second line of defence in Europe.

If the necessity for a change of policy, as a result of the growth of oversea "interests" and the decline of traditional alliances and friendships be conceded, the field within which this change can be effected is restricted. After the unfortunate experiences of recent years, it is extremely improbable that, whichever party may be in power, Great Britain should again allow herself to hew

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wood and draw water in the service of German *Weltpolitik*. France again, quite apart from her sympathetic understanding with England, cannot be counted upon to stultify herself so far as to enter into intimate relations with Germany upon the mere strength of assurances which have repeatedly been dishonored in the past. Progress in this direction, if it is to be permanent, must necessarily be slow. There may be financial cooperation between the two Powers, and disputed questions outside Europe may ultimately lead to a Franco-German colonial understanding; but for the immediate future no closer relationship can be contemplated. In view of these considerations, there are not a few people in Germany to whom an understanding either with America or with Japan has presented itself as an alternative. The realization of this object, however, admittedly postulates that England and France should be kept in check, and that their suspicions should be lulled until the end in view has been attained.

So far, there is no good reason for believing that Germany has yet made up her mind in either of these directions. Indeed, the choice is no easy one, and the difficulty is still further enhanced by the belief, which is steadily gaining ground in Germany, that a conflict between America and Japan is sooner or later inevitable. An extraordinary interest is being displayed in the various phases of the diplomatic exchanges which have recently characterized the relations between the two Pacific Powers. Every effort is being made to conceal this interest and to neutralize, as far as possible, the effect of a compliment to one of the parties by a tribute in honor of the other. Even the semi-official press has been instructed to deny a suggestion, which has never been advanced in any responsible quarter, to the effect that Germany has in no way fomented the differences which have arisen between the two Powers. Symptoms of this kind sufficiently indicate a sensitive interest which the outside world may be excused for interpreting upon the one hypothesis. Delicate as the discussion of the subject may be, it is perhaps noteworthy that a good deal of attention has been attracted in Germany by a statement that America has declined an alleged offer of good offices on the part of France in the present state of friction between the United States and Japan. Whether Germany cherishes aspirations of her own, in welcoming the elimination of France as a rival for the good graces of America, it is too early to say. But

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England still remains to be dealt with. In the case of England, however, there is, from the German point of view, the added difficulty that she is at present on equally good terms with Japan as with America. And Japan, as it is reluctantly acknowledged, is quite capable of becoming useful to Germany, especially if the latter proposes to develop her interests in East Asia. Those who witnessed the reception at Kiel, a few weeks ago, of a Japanese squadron and the attentions which have been showered upon Admiral Baron Yamamoto and other distinguished Japanese visitors, will have reflected that times have changed since the Emperor William issued his pictorial appeal to the nations to guard their holiest possessions against the "Yellow Peril." The question of, it may be, the near future will be whether Germany proposes to await the issue of a conflict which is widely predicted in the German press as inevitable, in order that she may make her terms with the victor, or whether at the critical moment she will openly range herself on the side of America. The completion of the Panama Canal may find the German navy in a sufficiently advanced stage of development to permit of a conclusion.

The efforts which have recently been made to infuse a measure of cordiality into Anglo-German relations, and upon which the Emperor William's forthcoming visit to England is designed to set a seal, are eminently characteristic of the new development in German policy. If Germany is to succeed in her attempt to place England in a position in which the latter might eventually be compelled to choose between America and Japan, it is necessary to gain time. There is, too, the further consideration that the semblance of good relations with England would materially facilitate German efforts to gain the friendship of America. Until Germany's object is attained, she is quite capable of playing off one against the other. England has already, at a previous period, served as the pivot of manœuvres of this kind, in the days when Germany was more intent upon inveigling herself into the favor of Russia than she is at present. The experiment may be repeated with America as the objective. The temporary advantages which America stands to gain from a working *entente* with Germany might prove to be considerable. If America, for example, were to find herself irresistibly drawn into a struggle for supremacy in the Pacific, the presence of a capable watch-dog in Europe might free her from certain conceivable anxieties.

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It is difficult to say how far Germany is seriously dallying with this idea, but both in this country and in America there are classes to whom the prospect is not distasteful. Foreign visitors to Germany, especially if they enjoy a measure of distinction at home and are reasonably unacquainted with the language, are tempted into undertaking singular excursions into the domain of politics, and the echo of their voices pursues them back to their native land in an unrecognizable form. The Germans celebrate, and frequently deserve, cheap triumphs in this direction. Unfortunately, however, the hospitality which is bestowed upon the visitors is largely of that prearranged variety which precludes fair judgment. The newcomers are duly impressed with the stucco-fronted modernity of German development, with the model solicitude of the State for its citizens from the cradle to the grave, and with the progressive notions which are cheapest in the quarters where they are most inveterately ignored. The underlying principle of this artificial structure is apt to escape attention. The essential character of the German State will not be changed either by reason of the patronage of science and of approved branches of art, or as a result of the advancement of learning and of the encouragement of social policy. Neither will practical proposals at the Hague Conference, to compensate for the decided opposition to disarmament in any form, nor plausible attempts to improve German relations with England and France, avail to change the fundamental principles for which Germany stands to-day. Those who have carefully studied the development of modern Germany and who have traced German policy to its springs, are not satisfied that intimate relations with the German Empire are compatible with the interests of any essentially democratic community.

WASHINGTON, *July, 1907.*

ALTHOUGH, at the hour when we write, neither President Roosevelt nor a single member of his Cabinet remains in the Federal capital, it is safe to say that there are more veteran and expert politicians left in Washington than could be found in a dozen of the United States. Dozens of ex-Representatives, ex-Governors, nay, ex-Senators and ex-diplomatists are scattered through the Departments, so that, even in midsummer, there is no lack of keen observers and shrewd commentators. They have

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plenty of leisure, too, for retrospect and forecast, since the driving wheels of the Executive machinery are no longer running under a full head of steam. What are the topics that just now command the attention of these salaried onlookers, who, perhaps, see more of the political and international game than they did when they took a hand in it? The topics of most interest are three: first, the extent to which the relations of the United States and Japan are likely to be affected by the signs of grave trouble for the last-named Power in Corea; secondly, the prospect of securing acceptance of any of the proposals made by the United States at The Hague Conference; and, lastly, the question whether there is the faintest ray of hope of Democratic success in the next Presidential election.

As for the attempt of German, French, and some American newspapers to excite apprehension that a war may be the outcome of the treatment of Japanese sojourners in San Francisco, it may now be said to have miscarried. Even the reported intention of our Navy Department to send, some months hence, all of our first-class battle-ships to San Francisco has failed to provoke any official protest on the part of the Tokio Government, although one of our best friends among the "Elder Statesmen," the Marquis Ito, now Resident-General at Seoul, has suggested that the demonstration of our sea-power in the Pacific might be looked upon as ill timed and as tending to arouse unfounded expectations on the part of the disaffected Coreans. It is obvious, indeed, that Corea is the vulnerable point of the Mikado's Empire. Nor can it be denied that the Corean Emperor was guilty of a personal breach of faith and of a flagrant violation of treaty obligations, when he authorized a delegation to proceed to The Hague and there request the recognition by the Peace Conference of Corea as an independent Power. The request was rejected, because the representatives of Japan had no difficulty in showing that, so far as international relations were concerned, the Corean sovereign had renounced the status of independence, and could no more lay claim to it than could the Queen of Madagascar after she had formally assented to her deposition at the hands of France. It is true that, by a protocol signed at Tokio on April 25th, 1898, the Governments of Japan and Russia severally recognized the sovereignty and entire independence of Corea, and reciprocally engaged to refrain from any direct interference in the

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internal affairs of that country. If that protocol were still binding, the demand of the delegates of Corea for admission to The Hague Conference could not have been refused. It was superseded, however, by the agreement between Japan and Corea, signed on August 22nd, 1904 (about six months after the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War), which provided that the Seoul Government should employ as diplomatic adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs a foreigner recommended by the Japanese Government, with the understanding that no important matters concerning foreign relations should be dealt with except after his counsel had been taken. The agreement also provided that the Seoul Government should consult the Mikado's Ministers before concluding treaties and conventions with foreign Powers. Finally, on November 17th, 1905 (about three months after the conclusion of the Peace of Portsmouth), the Seoul and Tokio Governments entered into an agreement that thereafter the Japanese Department of Foreign Affairs should have control and direction of the external relations and affairs of Corea, and the diplomatic and consular representatives of Japan should have charge of the subjects of interest to Corea in foreign countries. By another article of the same agreement, the Corean Government formally pledged itself not to conclude thereafter any act or engagement having an international character, except through the medium of the Government of Japan. In view of the documents here reproduced in substance, it is clear that the Corean Emperor had no right to despatch a delegation to The Hague Conference, and it is not surprising that, having been convicted of perjury, he should now be called upon by the head of his own Ministry, backed, of course, by Resident-General Ito, to abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince, who, it is known, would be a puppet in Japanese hands.

While, however, the Japanese have a treaty right to object to the despatch of a Corean delegation to The Hague, there is reason to believe that, if the Corean sovereign should be visited with the penalty of deposition, and of deportation to Tokio, not all but many of the inhabitants of Corea would be wrought to an exasperation that would find vent on the first favorable occasion. Now, in the Corean Empire, there are said to be no fewer than twenty million inhabitants, while, as yet, only about 50,000 Japanese are even alleged to have settled in the peninsula. Un-

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der the circumstances, it is obvious that if the Japanese, being beaten at sea, should find their communications with Corea interrupted, they would find it impossible to retain a foothold in the peninsula for any extended period. They cannot, therefore, afford to confront the risk of a contest with all the first-class battleships of the United States, for they would have incomparably more at stake than would their opponents. The continued possession of Corea is of vital moment to Japan, whereas we could lose all our insular possessions in the Pacific without suffering any pecuniary detriment. Indeed, it would be money in our pockets to let the whole of them go, though, of course, our national dignity would not permit us to let them be wrested from us by force.

Although we have sent to The Hague a delegation of exceptional prestige and influence, headed as it is by ex-Ambassador Choate and ex-Ambassador Porter, the situation seems unfavorable to the accomplishment of any of our principal aims. We desired, first, to establish the principle of the inviolability of the private property of the subjects or citizens of a belligerent at sea; secondly, to forbid the collection by force of contractual debts, until the claims should have been adjudged valid by The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, and until the debtor-State should have refused to comply with the decision of that tribunal. In the third place, we wished to extend materially the scope of The Hague Court of Arbitration; and, finally, we were prepared to second England's request for a substantial reduction of military armaments. The inviolability of the private property of a belligerent at sea, which we urged upon European Powers at the time of the Declaration of Paris (1856), was earnestly advocated at The Hague by Mr. Choate, who succeeded in rallying to its support almost two-thirds of the delegates belonging to the appropriate committee, who, moreover, represented a population exceeding by scores of millions that of the countries arrayed in opposition to his proposal. The ostensible success, however, can have no practical result, since the countries that he failed to convince will continue to repudiate the desired principle, and among these are such great maritime Powers as Great Britain, France, Japan and Russia.

As for our effort to enlarge the powers of The Hague permanent Court of Arbitration, much will, of course, be effected

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in that direction if we can persuade the Conference to prohibit such a collection by force of contractual debts as was practised by Great Britain in the case of Egypt, and by Great Britain, Germany and Italy in the case of Venezuela—until, that is to say, the validity of a creditor's claim shall have been certified by impartial arbitrators. There is, as yet, grave doubt whether the principal creditor-Powers will tolerate the introduction of such a change in the law of nations, a change which is viewed askance even by some solvent Latin-American republics, like Brazil and Mexico, who are accustomed to pay their debts punctually, and are loath to see their present excellent credit on the European stock-exchanges impaired in the slightest degree, as it might be, if the validity of a claim had to be left to the adjudication of The Hague tribunal.

With regard to the prospect of Democratic success at the next Presidential election, most of the astute observers in Washington think that if the Democratic National Convention were held this autumn Mr. William J. Bryan would be made the nominee by more than a two-thirds vote; not that the delegates would have any hope of electing him, but because, as yet, he has no active and popular competitor. We have learned, indeed, whom Colonel Watterson, of the Louisville "Courier-Journal," had in mind when he said that he could name a Democrat living west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio to whom the Bryanites could have no objection, and yet who would have a fair chance of securing a majority of the electoral votes. He referred to John A. Johnson, now for a second term Democratic Governor of Minnesota. It is a remarkable fact that in 1904, although Mr. Roosevelt carried Minnesota by 161,464, Mr. Johnson, as the Democratic candidate for Governor, secured a plurality of 6,352. That Governor Johnson gave satisfaction to his fellow citizens is evident from the fact that, last year, he was reëlected by a plurality of 76,633. Being of Scandinavian parentage, he would naturally have a strong pull on all the Scandinavian population of the Northwest, which is by no means concentrated in the single State of Minnesota. This, at least, may be urged on behalf of Governor Johnson, that he is far more likely than Mr. W. J. Bryan to carry his own State. As yet, however, the former's reputation is purely local, and there is scarcely time enough left before June, 1908, in which to make him a national figure.

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THE EDITOR'S DIARY.

MONDAY, *July 29.* **The Esperanto Congress.**

SEVEN centuries ago Roger Bacon, monk and philosopher, startled the conservative citizens of Oxford by announcing strange facts in the sciences of chemistry and physics, and by making wild prophecies of wonderful engines, horseless carriages and the like. For a Franciscan monk this was worse than madness, and by consequence Bacon suffered much ignominy and years of imprisonment. To-day the denizens of Mongolia and remote Siberia, as they catch sight of the motors now racing "from Peking to Paris," are probably just as incredulous as were the Oxford men seven hundred years ago, and only a fuller experience could convince them that the horseless carriage is a fact.

In the same manner for centuries past there has been talk, more or less vague, concerning a world-language, a universal tongue, that all nations could learn, and thus commune with facility like men and brothers. As in every other field of invention and discovery various attempts have been made to construct such a language—attempts that the years have swept away with the flotsam and jetsam of mortal endeavor. But one of these attempts, Esperanto, has not only survived, but by its substantial merit and vitality it has gained the faith and adherence of an ever-increasing multitude in every part of the globe, and to-day hundreds of men and women from every quarter are gathering at Cambridge, England, to be present at the Third International Esperanto Congress.

The English are avowedly the most conservative of peoples. They are not given to believing on mere hearsay. But had Roger Bacon brought a horseless carriage before them and demonstrated its utility they would have honored him duly. And likewise the Congress that is to open at Cambridge on the 12th of this

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month may bring home to them what Professor Ostwald, of Leipzig, in a recent address called the "culture value of an auxiliary language." In Professor Ostwald's opinion the adoption and general use of an auxiliary tongue among the nations, for purposes commercial and scientific, is one of the most important of all "culture" problems for humanity at the present and in the immediate future.

Culture, according to Ostwald, simply means economy of energy. A scientist at present can, in a few days, make discoveries and establish facts that some decades ago would have required years of toil, only because to-day he has instruments and devices that the scientist of an earlier date would have been compelled laboriously to construct for himself. Further progress depends upon avoiding waste of energy. The value of an international auxiliary tongue lies in the fact that the effort and time devoted to the study of foreign tongues for scientific and commercial purposes can be devoted to the solution of other problems that humanity has still to contend with. For the educative value of foreign language study in the schools to any but those linguistically gifted is of doubtful significance. So irregular and difficult are the historical languages that the inherent logic of the child naturally rebels against them. The general adoption of Esperanto would do away with these difficulties. And now the English people will have the opportunity to see the practical working of Esperanto.

Hundreds of Esperantists representing every civilized nation on earth will listen to speeches, make speeches, hold meetings, enact plays, all in Esperanto. They will meet at divine service, at meals, picnics, games, on excursions, using only Esperanto, to which very few of them probably have devoted over three months of actual study. Already England has gone far to recognize the merit and value of Esperanto, which has recently been adopted by the London Chamber of Commerce. The Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University and the Mayor and Town Council will give an official reception to the delegates, and the Corporation of the City of London has offered to the Congress the use of the Guild Hall for a meeting on August 19th. The press of England and America, it is to be hoped, will present some interesting accounts of the Congress.

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